Psychological, emotional, linguistic and cultural changes following migration : the case of Italian migrants living in English-speaking countries

Psychological, emotional, linguistic and cultural changes following migration

The case of Italian migrants living in English-speaking countries

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A te caro nonno Livio,

che mi hai trasmesso
l'amore per la conoscenza
e la curiosita`
di scoprire il mondo

Declaration

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements, no material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Abstract

The main argument of this dissertation is that languages and cultures overlap in the psyche of individuals. Participants are 468 Italian migrants residing in English-speaking countries. Specifically, the purpose is to investigate how language choice for expressing emotions, self-reported language dominance and self-perceptions when using the local language relate to migrants' acculturation attitudes and personality.

The analysis has been conducted using a mixed-method. Data has been gathered through a web-questionnaire and 5 follow-up interviews have been conducted in order to explore possible causes of statistical patterns. The web-survey was a combination of the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire, the Vancouver Index of Acculturation and the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire.

Findings confirmed that respondents' linguistic attitudes towards Italian (L1) and English (LX) matched their orientation towards L1 culture and LX culture. Specifically, participants who reported frequent use of the L1 to express emotions and considered it a dominant language were strongly attached to L1 culture practices. Similarly, participants who reported regular use of the LX to express emotions and considered it a dominant language were strongly attached to LX culture practices. Statistical analysis indicated reciprocal effects between linguistic and cultural factors, where L1 and LX dimensions remained unconnected. Furthermore, migrants' feelings of difference when using the LX were constrained by their sense of belonging to the LX culture.

Personality traits differently linked to L1 and LX variables, where no trait was correlated with both. In particular, the traits Flexibility and Emotional Stability were negatively related to participants' attachment to the heritage language and culture, whereas the traits Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness were positively related to their attachment to the host language and culture. Reciprocal effects appeared between cultural-linguistic aspects and personality traits, illustrating the linguistic and cultural hybridity of migrants and their psychological changes following migration.

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Chapter I

Personality, Acculturation, Emotions, Language and Self-perceptions in migrants' experience:

An Introduction

I.1. A personal statement

This research project stems from personal experiences. I was born and raised in Pisa, a culturally active small town in Tuscany, Italy. I had the chance to travel a lot when young, so I developed a fascination for different cultures and languages. As a teenager, I always wanted to explore the world and experience life in different countries. While studying Philosophy at the University in Pisa, I benefited from a European scholarship promoting student mobility, which led me to complete my Master degree at King's College, London. The impact of experiencing a new culture and a new language changed me deeply. I started to develop a strong interest in Linguistics and Cultural Studies and eventually decided to permanently settle in the UK to start a Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics. During that time, I realised that my personality had altered during my experience abroad and that the extensive use of English in social contexts led me to feel like a different person, especially when emotions were involved. Hence, the premise of this thesis is a result of first-hand experiences of struggle and excitement, coming from the realisation that personality and emotions can be affected by language switching and that a growing affection for a new cultural scenario might have a role to play in this process of change.

Initially, I considered the possibility that my experience could have been specific to me, given that I mainly mixed with locals and barely had any chance to speak with non-native speakers. When I compared my experience with those of other international students and professionals, I understood that the perception of difference when operating in a foreign language and the sense of becoming a different person was a *leitmotiv* among people having experienced life in a foreign country. Certainly, not everyone reacted in the same way to the impact with a new culture. Some people reported feeling extremely insecure and anxious, while others felt enriched and energetic when thinking about their experience in the new cultural world. Based on the above, I decided to start an enquiry based on personality traits. Indeed, I hypothesised that different personal characteristics could be the reason why individuals reacted differently to the new language and culture, showing either confidence and appreciation or anguish and rejection. In doing this, I decided to focus on emotions as well, which I believed to be an essential aspect of human interaction. Indeed, despite the struggle involved, I directly experienced how learning to express my feelings in the new language led me to better understand the new cultural values structuring my social connections and ultimately helped me towards feeling more engaged with the new society.

It is also worth mentioning another of the most intriguing discoveries I made while facing a new culture. After a few years immersed in a foreign culture and language, I started to notice that my languages where often mixing up in my mind. Similarly, I realised that my cultural traits and emotion scripts from my heritage and from my new living situation were

mutating and blending together. I imagined that the experiences of other migrants could be similar and started investigating the challenges of having to cope with a linguistic and culturally mixed identity. Suddenly, it occurred to me that my new language and my culture were not necessarily substitutes for my original ones. Previous literature and migrants' narratives often painted the fascinating picture of multilingual and multicultural identities as incredibly hard to grasp and dynamically evolving. I thus decided to analyse what factors could contribute to explain the reality of migrants' experience across languages and cultures. As a result, this project has been developed with the aim of investigating the potential of cross-cultural exchange, acculturation and social integration, specifically focusing on a vibrant aspect of human life - emotions - and on the possibility of linguistic and cultural hybridity.

I.2. The rationale behind the study: do migrants have hybrid identities?

The culture in which people live plays an important role in shaping their identity, sense of self and personality characteristics. Indeed, one facet of people's self-identity is that they belong to a certain society (Kim, 2001). When an individual moves from one culture to another, many aspects of self-identity are modified to fit in the new world (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). This process, generally referred to as acculturation, involves changes determined by a continuous and direct contact between individuals having different cultural origins (Kim, 2001). Having no clear progression, the combination of adjustments to a new cultural frame is different in every human being, making it hard to predict and understand the outcomes or

prospects. However, in our multicultural world where individuals are constantly moving in and out of different societies, their need for adaptation and cross-cultural awareness is vital (Wei, 2007). Indeed, in modern societies multilingualism and cultural exchange have become the norm rather than exception (Dewaele & Wei, 2013). Regan, Howard and Lemée (2009) state that:

> "In our globalized multicultural/multilingual world, communities are constantly shifting and individuals move in and out of them. People need to adapt to that constant shift in communities and find their own place in the speech community which they currently inhabit. Knowledge of grammatical and structural elements [...] is only a part of the skills and competencies which are necessary for this process of adaptation; sociolinguistic and sociocultural competences are equally important" (p.3)

Indeed, when people migrate, they cross not only geographical borders but also cultural and linguistic ones. These borders are less tangible and people seem to take longer to adapt to them (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). Becoming able to communicate proficiently in a new linguistic context is only a fraction of the competencies required to integrate in the new society, as lots of other factors require migrants' responsiveness (Regan, Howard & Lemée, 2009; Wierzbicka, 2004). For instance, expressing intimate feelings may become incredibly challenging when dealing with language barriers (Dewaele, 2011). Lots of bilingual testimonies prove that even if some basic emotions could be easily translated, this cannot be done without altering the way they are conceived or the meaning they have (Ozańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Wierzbicka, 1999). Being unable to rely on the substantial contribution of emotions in social interactions may have crucial effects on immigrants' wellbeing (Dewaele 2011). On the other hand, learning to handle emotional experiences in another language could represent an important achievement to succeed in

adaptation processes. Recent studies started to focus on this topic, theorising the concept of 'emotion acculturation', defined as the changes in emotional patterns due to migrants' exposure to a new culture (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011). It has been reported that migrants can internalise new emotion concepts which are not part of their heritage culture only through linguistic interactions and proper affective socialisation within the host culture (Dewaele, 2008, 2010a; Pavlenko 2006; Ozańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Up to now, only a few studies investigated how personality traits could be involved in this process of emotional acculturation (Ozańska-Ponikwia, 2013) and, above all, whether personality could be affected by migration experiences (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Ventura, Dewaele, Koylu & McManus, 2016; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a). Indeed, if research on personality aspects as predictors of successful cross-cultural adaptation and socio-linguistic changes in migrants' lives is a growing field of research, only a few studies analysed the reverse process, examining the changes in personality due to cross-cultural exchange (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). Given that the time spent in a foreign country by itself does not account for subtle personality changes (Ozańska-Ponikwia, 2013), more factors need to be simultaneously considered in a dynamic perspective. Following this line of argument, it is likely that all these spheres (emotional, psychological, linguistic and cultural) are interconnected in migrants' minds. Since personality has been reported as affecting the way people perceive and express emotions in the foreign language in use (Ozańska-Ponikwia, 2013), it can be speculated that the way individuals socialise in a foreign language, building affective relationships and developing attachment for mainstream culture, is related to personal

characteristics in a dynamic process of reciprocal influences. Choosing a foreign language to express emotions enables migrants to internalise a new emotional repertoire (Pavlenko, 2006), changing something in the way they feel and socialise with other people. Is this also linked to a successful acculturation? Is it true that people who feel more affiliated to their host culture are also more socially skilled and confident in using their foreign language for expressing emotions? Is it true that languages and culture can coexist in migrants' minds? The dynamics of this network of relationships could help to interpret the extreme complexity behind the concepts of 'migrants' linguistic and cultural hybridity' and reveal how different cultural, linguistic and emotional attitudes can conglomerate in migrants' life (Grosjean, 2001; Guiora, 1975).

Thus, the purpose of this study is to shed light on migrants' experience from an emotional, linguistic, cultural and psychological point of view, taking into account specific factors such as biographical elements, personal characteristics, cultural orientation and attitudes towards the first (L1) and local language (LX), as all of these are deeply interconnected (Chen, Benet-Martínez & Bond, 2008). Specifically, this project focuses on Italian migrants living in English (LX) speaking countries.

On the basis of the personal observations and experiences that inspired this project, this chapter will provide a general overview of the topic. Following the description of some pilot studies, the main themes of the present research will be briefly introduced: personality traits, culture and migration, emotions, bilingualism, multilingualism and multilingual identities. The discussion will be then narrowed to some relevant

assumptions and considerations behind the project before a concise synopsis of all remaining chapters.

I.3. Pilot testing

Due to the wide variety of aspects which needed to be accounted for, two informal pilot studies were set up in order to test initial hypotheses, identifying all relevant variables to the analysis. Both pilot studies collected data through web-questionnaires addressing almost 30 Italian migrants residing in the UK. Surveys were informally distributed online on Social Network Sites (SNS) to friends and colleagues. Both questionnaires collected information about migrants' socio-biographical specifics, language choice for emotion expression, personality scores and general attitudes towards heritage and host cultures and languages. A brief session of unstructured interviews took place immediately after the second pilot test, where the researcher informally engaged in conversations with all participants to learn more about their migration experience.

Results seemed to suggest the existence of a connection between participants' linguistic attitudes, cultural orientation and psychological profiles, corroborating the hypothesis that languages and cultures interact in migrants' minds. According to migrants' reports, the act of embracing a new language, as well as a new culture, did not necessarily imply aborting the heritage ones. Furthermore, many respondents claimed their life experience between cultures and languages changed their personality. These findings boosted my interest in the topic, prompting the idea of an investigation of reciprocal influences between all these factors.

I.4. A brief overview on the topic

I.4.1. About Personality

"This language is beginning to invent another me" (Hoffman, 1989:121)

Eva Hoffman produced one of the most famous accounts about life between languages and cultures. In her autobiography *Lost in Translation* (1989), she depicted a vivid torment about her identity perception, which she eventually overcame by discovering the richness of her new linguistic perspective. In her narrative, she mused over the linguistic and psychological consequences of her migration from Poland to Canada, regretting her gradually becoming 'English', as noticed by her mother, when commenting on her being cold and less demonstrative. Indeed, learning a new language could be perceived as taking over a new identity (Guiora, 1975). This reflection is confirmed by a number of autobiographical narratives (Besemeres, 2002, 2004; Parks, 1996; Pavlenko, 2001; Stavans, 2001; Wierzbicka, 1997, 1999; Ye, 2003), depicting the experience of living in between cultures and languages with different, yet similar shades.

The present enquiry starts from the initial hypothesis that individual differences might explain why the experience of a new language and culture could vary a lot across migrants and across times and contingent factors. Since the pioneer cross-cultural studies of Guiora (1975) on how language affects personality development and how personality development affects the way language is used, personality is a dimension that has progressively acquired more presence in linguistic research. As a result, studies have often placed linguistic and psychological variables side by side (Dewaele &

Pavlenko, 2001-2003; Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele, 2016b; Matsumoto, 2006; Wilson, 2008; Korzilius, Van Hooft, Planken, & Hendrix, 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017). This dissertation is based on the idea that analysing migrants' experience requires a wider perspective than merely a linguistic one. Indeed, the reality for migrants' is complex and language characterises only one side of it (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Previous research mentioned above showed that some cross-linguistic differences could in fact be entirely accounted for by individual differences (Matsumoto, 2006). Some researchers have focused on personality variables as strictly associated to successful cross-cultural adaptation, such as readiness for change, adaptability, openness to new experiences, strength and positivity (Kim 2001). Yet, relatively little research has been carried out on the effect of social, cultural and linguistic factors on personality traits (Pervin & Cervone, 2010). Dewaele and Wei (2013), while discussing their interest in finding out whether multilinguals' personality profiles might differ from the personality profiles of monolinguals, argue that:

> "[...] a high level of multilingualism and multiculturalism represents the kind of enduring sociocultural influence that can shape personality" (p. 231)

Hence, literature suggests that socio-cultural and linguistic aspects may be sufficient to cause corresponding changes in personality (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Wei, 2013; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Ventura, Dewaele, Koylu & McManus, 2016). Therefore, the present study argues in favor of the inclusion of psychological

variables in cross-linguistic research, as this will produce a broader perspective of the "real person behind the data" (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013: 32). More specifically, personality will be here considered as part of the complex interplay of both psychological and social factors characterising migrants' experience.

I.4.2. About Culture and Migration

Political, economic and technological changes in this century have increased global mobility, resulting in fast and outsized cultural and linguistic changes. In such a multicultural and multilingual world, communities and borders are fluctuating and individuals move in and out of them (Regan, Howard & Lemée, 2009). Adaptation to that continuous shift is crucial and represents a profound social change. The constant shifting of borders has had a major impact on both national and individual identities (Jones, 2000), at times creating internal conflicts, at others opportunities to expand and develop new characteristics (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014):

> "Migration calls into question established personal identity, the sense of self in the world and the boundary between inner and outer reality. Migrants tend to articulate their experience by recourse to the body metaphor 'I feel as if half of myself is missing'" (Jones, 2000:118)

Models of ethnic identity and acculturation patterns have been a large part of the research in recent decades (Berry, 1990; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992; Horenczyk, 2000; Liebkind, 1993), and some studies have specifically looked at the role of language in the construction of identities and integration among migrants (Ben Rafael, Olshtain, & Geijst, 1997; Cooper & Fishman, 1977; Olshtain & Kotik, 2000; Olshtain, Stavans, & Kotik, 2003;

Stavans, Olshtain, & Goldzweig, 2009). However, linguistic, sociolinguistic and socio-cultural competences are equally important in making the process successful. Indeed, migrants may experience a 'culture shock' when they realise that they not only need to learn a new language but also absorb a new culture. Maines (1978) provides a perfect definition of the process of socio-psychological migration, by stating that: "identities migrate every bit as much as bodies" (p. 242). Crossing inner self-borders, which lack tangibility and concreteness, seems in fact a much more complex process that solely crossing topographical ones. Hence, "migrations of 'selves' usually follow different paths than those of their corresponding 'bodies'" (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014: 2). In other words, migrants could begin to grasp the customs, values and norms of their host society at different stages of their cultural transition (Maines, 1978: 14). In previous research, the emphasis has been mainly oriented towards migrants' frustration, disorientation, anxiety, 'acculturative stress', 'transition shock', and 'cultural fatigue' (Anderson 1994, Oberg 1960, Berry 1970, 1990, Bennett 1977, Taft 1977). Conversely, recent research focused more on the way people actively deal with change, how they "feel, behave, think and perceive when exposed to second-culture influences" (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2008: 270). Thus, the concept of 'cultural shock' in research has been replaced with the idea of "an experience in self-understanding and change" (Adler, 1987: 29). Considering that internal physiological factors and external social factors are both involved in the process of cultural transition and imagining their interplay as the core of individuals' personality development (Furnham & Heaven, 1999; Jang, Kim, 2008; Livesley, & Vemon, 1996; McCrae et al., 2000), the present study wants to acknowledge the complex network of relationships between identity,

personality and cultural aspects (Chen, Benet-Martínez &Bond, 2008). Here, it is believed that acculturation plays a crucial role in the construction of migrants' social, psychological and linguistic identity and has been thus included among the main factors under analysis. Specifically, acculturation will be considered as migrants' cultural orientation (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000: 49), intended as their sense of belonging to a specific cultural framework. In other words, the present study is centred on examining migrants' subjective motivation to embrace a culture, rather than practical acculturation outcomes. More details on this interpretation of the concept of acculturation are provided in the next chapter (Section II.3.)

I.4.3. About Emotions

Emotions are a vital ingredient in human lives (Wierzbicka 1992; Dewaele, 2011). Yet it seems extremely hard to fully grasp their nature:

> "We may have an intuitive understanding of emotions, but their sheer complexity makes them difficult to define. What exactly is an emotion? Should it be differentiated from cognition? Can emotions be measured through observation of the brain and body?" (Dewaele, 2010a: 16)

Emotions occur in every relationship people build with colleagues, friends, family members and intimate partners and they can also be the cause of real damage. They can arise and change very quickly, and sometimes remain at the unconscious level. In other words, human beings do not have much control over them (Ekman, 2003: xiii).

Harré (2009) argues that the study of emotions must be interdisciplinary because an emotion links cognitive, psychological, cultural and physiological elements. This is why the nature of emotion has become a

vibrant subject in a number of disciplines. Furthermore, the importance of emotions in human life is amplified by the need for individuals to express them. Indeed, sharing emotions, whether face-to-face or in different kinds of interactions, is a crucial social activity as well as a physical and mental need (Averill, 1982):

> "The interpersonal communication of emotional states is fundamental [...] how well these emotions are expressed and understood is important to interpret interpersonal relationships and individual well-being" (Fussell, 2002: 1)

Notwithstanding that, one may realise the importance of emotions when one is unable to communicate them effectively because of linguistic and cultural barriers (Dewaele, 2010a). Many anthropologists now claim that the differences between emotional experiences around the world are minor when compared with the similarities (Evans, 2001: xiv). However, it must be acknowledged that some emotional terms are untranslatable between languages or altered by linguistic translation (Altarriba, 2003; Pavlenko, 2005; Wierzbicka 2004, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013) and that every culture produces specific emotional experiences (Pavlenko, 2005):

> "Different languages are linked with different ways of thinking as well as different ways of feeling; they are linked with different attitudes, different ways of relating to people, different ways of expressing one's feelings" (Wierzbicka, 2004: 98).

Some systematic cultural differences in the comprehension of emotions are linked to first language (L1) emotion scripts and socio-cultural competences (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele, 2010a, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Wierzbicka, 2004). Clearly, the relationship between culture and emotion is a crucial one (Mesquita, 2010). Emotions are dependent on socio-cultural

contexts determined by patterns of experience. Multilinguals can only adopt and learn certain emotions as they come to understand their socio-cultural significance (Panayiotou, 2001, 2004; Pavlenko, 2008; Dewaele, 2008, 2010a, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Words that label emotions are thus believed to be represented at a deeper conceptual level in the native language (Altarriba, 2003, 2006) or in the dominant language (Altarriba, 2003, 2006; Dewaele, 2004c, 2008). Hence, expressing emotion in a foreign language is a result of a complex interaction of socio-cultural and linguistic variables, such as language proficiency, age of onset, and context of acquisition and context of interaction (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele, 2004c, 2010a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2008). Previous research showed that socialisation in the relevant language may facilitate the acquisition of some culture-specific notions and that cognitive processes could be modified by linguistic and cultural influence (Dewaele, 2010a; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017; Pavlenko, 2005; Wierzbicka, 2004)

Giving the strong link between emotions and culture and acknowledging the importance emotions have in socialisation practices and, consequently, their solid presence in individuals' inner-selves, the present study opted for including them in the analysis of migration experiences. Indeed, affective socialisation in a foreign language (LX) is believed to be a crucial part of acculturation processes (Dewaele, 2008; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a).

I.4.4. About Bilingualism

Considering that the present dissertation will take into consideration two languages (the L1 and the LX), it is fundamental to explain the term bilingualism, as there are far too many definitions of this notion and, as Wei (2000) states: "the question of who is and who is not a bilingual is more difficult to answer than it first appears" (p. 5). Bilingualism is often used to designate the ability of using two of more languages. However, it is necessary to point out that the use of a language can range in terms of proficiency or on the basis of several contextual and non-linguistic factors (Wei, 2000: 7-9). Early definitions of bilingualism were extremely restrictive, implying that bilingualism was having "a native-like control of two languages" (Bloomfield, 1933: 56). These definitions presented methodological and theoretical difficulties as they looked extremely hard to be operationalised, remained quite vague in terms of proficiency measurements and completely ignored non-linguistic dimensions (Dewaele, 2015; Wei, 2000). If earlier definitions tended to restrict the idea of bilingualism to equal mastery of two languages, most recently linguists have allowed much variation regarding competence (Edwards, 1994), making the concept of bilingualism gradually broader. Weinreich (1968:1) offered the most basic definition: "the practice of alternatively using two languages will be called bilingualism". Mackey (2000: 27) expands the definition above, considering bilingualism as "the alternative use of two or more languages by the same individual", with the emphasis on the equal competency in either language. Still, all these definitions remain quite vague and the defining criteria seem indefinite, though flexible at the

same time (Dewaele, 2015). Wei (2000) tries get round the problems arising from Mackey's definition, providing further contextualisation to the concept:

> "Bilingualism is a behavioural pattern of mutually modifying linguistic practices varying in degree, function, alternation, and interference" (p.27)

Hence, it could be argued that bilingualism as a concept has open-ended semantics (Edwards, 1994). Wei (2000) claims that:

> "The impasse can only be overcome if bilingualism is no longer regarded as something inside the speaker's head but as a displayed feature in participants' everyday behaviour. [...] As a result, there is no one set definition of bilingualism. Being bilingual is turned into an achieved status" (p. 169)

In this perspective, it is thus to be considered more "as a continuum rather than a category" (Dewaele, 2015:1). Cook (2002: 4) introduced the term L2-user to refer to someone who uses a second language (L2) at any level, where language competence remains unspecified and does not have to be equal in all areas of usage. In other words, Cook aims to avoid confusing the idea of 'perfect bilingual' with the average individual who uses the L2 for his needs on a daily basis (Cook & Bassetti, 2010). What is interesting and innovative in Cook's view is the argument that the combination of languages in people's minds has effects that go beyond linguistic aspects, affecting their cognitive representation of grammatical and lexical categories (Cook & Bassetti, 2010). Nowadays, all researchers agree that bilinguals can have dominant and weaker languages. Most recent definitions of bilingualism are thus inclusive of L2-users as the level of language competence is no longer crucial. Dewaele (2013, 2017) also suggested the use of the term 'LX' to refer to languages acquired after the L1, without implying any chronological order of acquisition

or proficiency implication. In other words, an LX user is a non-native language user, who could be indistinguishable from a native language user (Dewaele, 2013). However, the new multidisciplinary view of bilingualism favours different methods, criteria and assumptions creating a vivid debate (Dewaele, 2015, Wei, 2000). Research on bilingualism is thus dynamic, non-linear, but certainly reflects the fact that societies and languages are nowadays constantly evolving, along with individuals' linguistic needs, preferences and attitudes (Wei, 2007). If monolingualism was once the norm and bilingualism the exception, this perspective is indubitably shifted (Comanaru & Dewaele, 2015; Dewaele, 2015; Wei, 2000, 2007). The present dissertation adopts a more recent view of bilingualism, based on Dewaele (2013, 2015) and Wei's observations (2000).

I.4.5. About Multilingualism and Multilingual Identities

> "It seems that when I write (or, for that matter, think) in English, I am unable to use the word 'I' I do not go as far as the schizophrenic 'she'—but I am driven, as by a compulsion, to the double, the Siamese-twin 'you'" (Hoffman, 1989: 121)

In her autobiography, Eva Hoffman (1989) observed the emergence of a different inner voice, which she struggles to recognise as part of her former self. Ultimately, her life-journey across different cultures led her to proudly affirm her multilingual personality:

> "I-one person, first-person singular -have been on both sides [...] I begin to see where the languages I've spoken have their correspondences -how I can move between them without being split by the difference" (p. 273)

Similar experiences have been pictured in a large number of autobiographical works and memoirs by multilingual and multicultural authors (Besemeres,

2002, 2004; Parks, 1996; Pavlenko, 2001; Ye, 2003; Wierzbicka, 2004). All these testimonies – which will be presented in more detail in the next Chapter (Section II.5.) – suggest that language and culture could influence individuals' personalities and perceptions. Indeed, the large majority of multilinguals report feeling different or attribute a different identity to their languages (Dewaele, 2016a, Dewaele & Nakano, 2012; Guiora, 1975; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b, Pavlenko, 2006; Wilson 2008). Ilan Stavans, in his autobiography, discussed his hybrid self, providing an accurate picture of how his multilingual identity dynamically surfaced:

> "Changing languages is like imposing another role on oneself, like being someone else temporarily. My English-language persona is the one that superimposes itself on all previous others. In it are the seeds of Yiddish and Hebrew, but mostly Spanish... But is the person really the same? You know, sometimes I have the feeling I'm not one but two, three, four people. Is there an original person? An essence? I'm not altogether sure, for without language I am nobody" (2001: 251)

What emerges from these narratives is indeed the complex nature of migrants' identity perceptions in their languages. Grosjean (1982, 2010, 2015), while attempting to investigate the linguistic and cultural melting pot human beings are, goes towards a more modern definition of bicultural and bilingual individuals. Indeed, he explains that defining bilinguals is problematic and researchers have opted for language use as the main criterion. As Weinreich (1968) and Mackey (1962) defined bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages, Grosjean (1982, 2010) states that bilinguals are those who use two or more languages in their everyday lives. This view encompasses people who live with more than one language, ranging from migrants speaking the host country's language, and who may

not read and write it, all the way to professional interpreters who are perfectly fluent in two or more languages (Grosjean, 2015: 573). In this perspective, he discusses also the concept of language dominance. He states that it is recognised in the field of bilingualism that many bilinguals could be differently dominant in their languages. Dominance is a difficult concept to define and is not necessarily based on language fluency or use, but on how the languages are distributed across domains of life. In other words, bilinguals might be dominant in different languages for specific domains of their daily life (Grosjean, 2015). The concept of language dominance will thus be included in the present analysis and will be extensively presented in the relevant section of the next Chapter (Section II.6.).

Considering the bicultural component, Grosjean explained that bicultural individuals are characterised as following:

> "Firstly, they take part, to varying degrees, in the life of two or more cultures. Secondly, they adapt, at least in part, their attitudes, behaviours, values, languages, etc., to these cultures. Thirdly, they combine and blend aspects of the cultures involved. Certain characteristics (attitudes, beliefs, values, behaviours, etc.) come from the one or the other culture, whereas other characteristics are blends based on these cultures. In this latter case, it becomes difficult to determine the cultural origin of a particular characteristic since it contains aspects of both cultures. We should note here that it is rare that the two cultures have the same importance in the life of the bicultural. One culture often plays a larger role than the other. One can therefore speak of "cultural dominance" just as one speaks of "language dominance" in bilinguals." (p. 574)

Hence, it seems possible for cultures to coexist in migrants' life as well as languages do. Some studies also proved that the content of heritage culture and the process of integrating cultural identities influence the extent of self-consistency among people living across cultures (Zhang, Noels, Lalonde & Salas, 2017) and defined their bicultural self "a unique psychological product

of a bicultural experience" (p.2). At the same time, in his study on bicultural and bilingual individuals, Grosjean (2015) observed that:

> "[...] very little work has been done so far to describe the combined linguistic and cultural ensemble that is at the heart of who they are" (p. 580)

Indeed, identity has been studied extensively in many fields of research (such as psychology, sociology, philosophy or linguistics) and the breath of scholarship clearly illustrates that this intricate topic is vital to the understanding of both human beings and relationships with others. Yet, only a limited number of studies focused on multilingual identities. In today's globalised world, where people can internalise more than one culture (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 2000) for various reasons, biculturalism and multiculturalism have become important topics to be addressed by identity researchers (Grosjean, 2015). The present study aims to investigate the potential relationship between migrants' self-perceptions in their languages and their cultural and personal profiles. Indeed, socio-biographical and psychological factors could reveal important insights, able to unwrap the mysterious hybridity of the psyche of migrants, postulated by Grosjean (2001, 2015)

I.5. Assumptions and considerations

The short overview on the field presented above leads to some important assumptions about personal, cultural, linguistic and emotional aspects regarding migrants. Some of these assumptions are strongly linked:

- The inclusion of psychological variables into cross-linguistic research, as this will produce a more realistic perspective of the real person behind the data (Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013)

- Personality is determined by a constant interaction between internal psychological factors and external social factors (Furnham & Heaven, 1999; Jang, Livesley, & Vemon, 1996; McCrae et al., 2000)

- Personality traits may influence the degree of socialisation process and the acquisition of socio-cultural competence and new cultural traits (Klein, 1995; Kim 2001, 2008)

- Personality is influenced and shaped by language and culture (Hoffman, 1989; Pavlenko, 1998, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Wierzbicka, 2004)

- Cultural change and socio-biographical factors might cause changes in personality (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Ventura, Dewaele, Koylu & McManus, 2016).

- Many aspects of self-identity are modified to fit in the new world (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Kim, 2001; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000)

- Acculturation involves changes determined by a continuous and direct contact between individuals having different cultural origins (Kim, 2001)

- In our multicultural world where individuals are constantly moving in and out of different societies, their need for adaptation and cross-cultural awareness is vital (Wei, 2007).

- Acculturation is a multidimensional process encompassing psychological, cognitive, linguistic, and social elements (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010)

- Individuals are capable of having multiple cultural identities, each of which may independently vary on strength (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000: 50)

- Becoming able to communicate clearly in a new linguistic context is only a partial achievement, as lots of other socio-cultural factors require migrants' full attention (Regan, Howard and Lemée, 2009; Wierzbicka, 2004)

- Emotions serve as a connection with the social world, which makes them "ongoing, dynamic, and interactive processes that are socially constructed" (Boiger & Mesquita 2012: p. 221; Mesquita, 2003, 2010)

- Some emotion terms are untranslatable between languages or cannot be translated without altering the meaning they have or the way they are perceived (Altarriba, 2003; Panayiotou, 2001, 2004; Pavlenko, 2002; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1999)

- Every culture has specific emotional patterns (De Leersnyder, Kim, Mesquita, 2011; Dewaele, 2010a, 2011; Parrott & Harré, 1996; Pavlenko,

2005, 2008; Mesquita, 2010; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Scherer, 1997a, 1997b; Wierzbicka, 2004)

- Bilinguals have two clearly distinct cultural orientations, disclosed by each of their languages (Matsumoto, 1994, 2006)

- Some systematic cultural differences of comprehension of emotions are linked to L1 emotion scripts and socio-cultural competence (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele, 2010a, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Wierzbicka, 2004)

- Migrants' exposure and contact with a new culture could determine changes in their emotional patterns in a way that the degree of concordance with mainstream emotional patterns could reflect their level of sharing and participation to the culture meanings and practices (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014)

- Socialisation process in the relevant language may facilitate the acquisition of some culture-specific notions and that cognitive processes could be modified by linguistic and cultural influence (Dewaele, 2010a; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2008, 2013, 2014; Wierzbicka, 2004)

- The majority of multilinguals report feeling different when switching languages or attribute a different identity to their languages (Besemeres, 2002, 2004; Dewaele, 2008a, 2010a, Guiora, 1975; Hoffman, 1989; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b; Parks, 1996; Pavlenko, 2001, 2006; Ye, 2003; Wilson 2008)

- Sociocultural and psychological integration into the L2 society and culture were strongly linked to migrants' perception of 'being yourself' in the L2 (Hammer, 2016)

- The combination of the linguistic and cultural ensemble is at the heart of multilingual and multicultural individuals (Grosjean, 2015)

Hence, this thesis will consider the interplay between language, emotions, culture and personality in migrants' experience. Bearing in mind that the majority of the world's population nowadays is multilingual (Wei, 2007) and that migration flows are on a massive scale (Regan, Howard & Lemée, 2009), the present research aims at shedding new light on migrants' acquisition of socio-cultural competences in the local language, as well as on their identity practices and personality restructuring. The main idea behind this project is to determine to what extent multilingualism and multiculturalism are dynamic processes, based on mutual influences between languages, cultures and personality traits (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013), and to what extent cultural and linguistic orientations can be bi-dimensional in the sense that acquiring new linguistic and cultural traits do not erase previous ones (Grosjean, 2015).

I.6. Overview of Chapters

This dissertation is composed of six chapters. The current chapter provided a general overview of the topic.

Chapter two presents a wide-ranging review of literature relating to the themes of personality, acculturation, emotions, migrant self-perceptions and language dominance. The focus throughout is on migrants' psychological,

linguistic and cultural perceptions. The discussion starts with situating the current research among the theories of personality traits, acculturation and emotions in multiple languages, aiming to describe the complex interplay of the languages, cultures, personality and emotions in migrants' the psyche of migrants. The research studies reviewed are organised into two sections. The first section presents the concept of personality and acculturation, narrowing the definition of these complex concepts. Specifically, for the purpose of this study, personality will be seen as a combination of psychological and social factors (McCrae & al., 2000), while acculturation will be regarded only in the form of migrants' sense of belonging to a culture and appreciation for its practices (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 2000). The second section provides an overview of the up-to-date research on emotions, multilinguals' self-perceptions and language perceptions, focusing on all studies linking these factors to personality traits and cultural aspects. Chapter Two concludes with the introduction of research questions and hypotheses.

The third chapter describes research procedures used in the present thesis. Specifically, this study relies on a mixed-method approach, based on data collected through questionnaires, open question surveys and interviews. The first section of the chapter will be dedicated to the description of quantitative methods, while the latter will be focused on qualitative procedures. In the first section, the main research instruments will be presented: the Bilingualism and Emotion Questionnaire (BEQ) (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003), the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ) (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2002) and the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 2000. A detailed description of

the main instruments follows, as well as data collection procedures. The last section is centred on qualitative methods and techniques, making reference to the relevant literature. This chapter also presents profiles of survey participants and interviews candidates.

Chapter four illustrates the empirical findings of the present research, using qualitative insights in support of statistical trends (Creswell & Plano, 2011). The discussion of statistical findings is provided and engaged through qualitative quotes from migrants.

Chapter five contains a detailed discussion of the findings in relation to previous literature reviews. Initial hypotheses are restated and findings are presented in response to each assumption. Whenever results diverge from initial expectations or previous research, an explanation is attempted. A final section draws all findings together in order to provide an *ensemble* picture of migrants' experience across languages and cultures.

The dissertation concludes with chapter six, which illustrates the most meaningful outcomes and limitations to the present study and highlights potential future work on the subject.

Chapter II

Personality, Acculturation, Emotions, Language and Self-perceptions in migrants' experience:

An overview of the literature

II.1. Introduction: building a theoretical framework

As illustrated in the previous chapter, migration experiences are believed to trigger changes across all aspects of one's psyche (Grosjean, 2015; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b). Indeed, crossing linguistic and cultural borders implies modifying most daily practices and competencies (Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004) which are crucial for people to function in any given society (Regan, Howard & Lemée, 2009). Thus, becoming able to proficiently communicate in a new linguistic context is only a partial achievement, as lots of other factors require migrants' full attention, such as linguistic behaviour, emotional attitudes, cultural values and several tacit practices, all deeply embedded in the new cultural scenario. Having no clear endpoint or chronological stages, the series of psychological, linguistic and social adjustments required to fit into a new cultural framework take place differently in every human being. Accordingly, it is quite hard to predict the socio-psychological outcomes and prospects of migration experiences and to understand what could help migrants in recognizing their new reality across cultures and languages. For all these reasons, acculturation processes (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000), migrants' self-perceptions (Dewaele, 2016a), multilingualism (Dewaele, 2016a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2006)

and affective socialisation (Comanaru & Dewaele, 2015; Dewaele, 2008, 2010a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017) have often been depicted as complex and dynamic phenomena to study. Yet, in a multicultural world where individuals are constantly moving in and out of different societies, their need for adaptation and cross-cultural awareness is vital and cannot be ignored (Wei, 2007). The present study focuses on migrants' experience across languages and cultures. The purpose is to examine the network of relationships between linguistic, cultural and personality aspects in order to shed more light on migrants' unique linguistic, cultural and psychological hybridity (Grosjean, 2001, 2015), responding to the call from Chen, Benet-Martínez ,and Bond:

> " [...] we need process-oriented studies that acknowledge the complex interplay among identity, language, personality, and contextual variables" (2008: 832)

In particular, this chapter will focus on introducing the literature centred on personality, acculturation, emotions, multilingualism and linguistic aspects of migrants' experience. The objective of connecting findings from different fields is to create a solid framework in order to support a multi-focused analysis aimed at unwrapping the complexity of migration experiences from a linguistic, socio-cultural and psychological point of view. All these dimensions are believed to be strongly interrelated.

II.2. On Personality

II.2.1. Introduction

Personality will be the conceptual thread of this dissertation. It will begin the literature review section and conclude the presentation of findings in chapter five (Section V.4.2.). The choice of starting the discussion with personality is motivated by the idea that it will allow a conceptually clearer presentation of this study. In particular, this section will simply introduce the concept of personality. Literature centred on personality will be briefly mentioned and a more detailed review of previous research will be presented in relation to the relevant themes of the present research: acculturation (Section II.3.), emotions (Section II.4.), migrants' self-perceptions (Section II.5.) and language dominance (Section II.6.).

II.2.2. Defining Personality

When talking about personality, Child describes it as

> "[...] the more or less stable and enduring organisation of a person's character, temperament, intellect and physique which determines his unique adjustment to the environment" (1986:239).

Personality can be thus considered as the system of behaviours, attitudes, and values that characterises an individual, accounting for his functioning in the environment (Strelau, 2000). Psychologists usually discuss personality in terms of individual traits, intended as precise facets of an individual's personality that can be measured and observed. Every individual has personality traits, and each trait could be differently developed, influencing the way a person behaves in everyday life (Strelau, 2000). Trait theorists

argue that personality has both a biological and an environmental basis and is also influenced by culture in the sense that behaviours are expressed according to local norms (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1985).

II.2.2.1 The Big Five Model

'The 'Big Five Factor Model' is dominant among various approaches to psychological traits. This model, primarily developed by Allport and Odbert (1936), focuses on situational-based approaches that offer greater flexibility in explaining a specific person-environment. Back in the 1970's two independent research teams headed by Costa & McCrae and Norman & Goldberg worked separately on this prototype. Goldberg (1981) proposed five main personality factors and started to examine them closely, naming his collection of findings 'The Big Five'. Costa and McCrae (1988) initially measured only three main factors: 'Neuroticism', 'Extraversion' and 'Openness to Experience' (NEO). It was not until 1988 that the NEO model was enlarged to 'OCEAN' by adding two more factors: 'Agreeableness' and 'Conscientiousness'. Thus, despite different approaches, both research teams ended up at the same results; namely, that most personality traits could be reduced to five dimensions. The five dimensions of personality were developed and tested using factor analysis. Their results led to the frame-working of five general personality traits: 'Extraversion' vs. 'Introversion', 'Agreeableness' vs. 'Antagonism', 'Conscientiousness' vs. 'Undirectedness', 'Neuroticism' vs. 'Emotional Stability', 'Openness' to 'Experience' vs. 'Not Open to Experience'. Each of the Big Five personality traits has its counterpart balanced on the linear scale. The reason for pairing these factors is that a high score for one of the pair means a low score for its counterpart.

II.2.3. Personality and Culture

Some researchers investigated whether properties of culture-level personality traits could be operationalised as the mean scores of culture members. McCrae, Terracciano & al. (2005) showed that aggregate personality factor scores were significantly connected to a number of culture variables that characterise societies' beliefs and values. Cultures whose members were high in Extraversion promoted democratic values, individualism and self-expression. These values, according to McCrae, Costa, Martin & al. (2004) are generally typical of Western cultures. Alternatively, those cultures whose members were high in 'Openness' were also characterised by low power distance and high individualism, but also affective and intellectual autonomy and egalitarian commitment. Similarly, 'Agreeableness' appeared to be related to values at the individual level, while 'Conscientiousness' was unrelated to values and beliefs (McCrae, Terracciano & al., 2005). A different study on personality and cultural differences by Allik and McCrae (2004) showed that, according to the NEO personality inventory, European cultures systematically differ from Asian and African cultures in terms of 'Extraversion' and 'Openness', on which Europeans generally score higher. They have also found that southern European cultures tend to score higher on Neuroticism than northern European cultures. All these findings support the scalar equivalence of personality factors across cultures, indicating that aggregate personality profiles provide insight into cultural differences and suggesting that culture may influence personality aspects. This is why, in the case of studies centred on cross-cultural differences and similarities, personality traits should be taken into consideration (Ożańska-

Ponikwia, 2013). Further insights illustrating the connection between personality and acculturation processes will be presented in the next part of the section (section II.3.).

II.2.4. Personality and Acculturation

Rapid and large-scale migration piqued the interest of researchers interested in acculturation processes (Steiner, 2009). Acculturation, discussed more extensively in the next section (II.3.), proved to be a complex phenomenon to study and some researchers specifically focused on individual differences in acculturative processes. Indeed, some personality characteristics are believed to be relevant in cross-cultural adaptation. Highly open-minded people, according to different personality scales, seem to minimise their resistance to change and be less inclined to make ethnocentric judgements when experiencing different situations (Kim, 2008). With this in mind, Kim defined personality strength as the "internal capacity to absorb shocks from the environment and to bounce back without being seriously damaged by them" (2008: 85).

II.2.4.1. The Multicultural Personality Questionnaire

A turning point in the field of research focussing on personality aspects as related to cross-cultural adjustments was the appearance of a multi-dimensional instrument aimed at measuring personality profiles and multi-cultural effectiveness, named 'The Multicultural Personality Questionnaire' (MPQ). The questionnaire, designed by van Oudenhoven & van der Zee (2000, 2002), was specifically designed for multicultural individuals and follows the steps of the Big Five inventory, presenting scales

that are more tailored to predict multicultural success. The MPQ five dimensions are:

- 'Cultural Empathy', measuring the ability to empathise with cultural diversity, understanding feelings, beliefs, thoughts and attitudes which different from heritage ones;

- 'Flexibility', which is the ability to learn from new experiences, adjusting behaviour according to contingency, seeking challenges and enjoying novelty and change;

- 'Social Initiative', representing the tendency to approach social situations actively and eagerly, taking the initiative and engaging in social situations;

- 'Openmindedness', indicating an open, unprejudiced attitude towards different cultural aspects and diversity in general

- 'Emotional Stability', which refers to the ability to remain calm in stressful situations, controlling nervous reactions, especially in emotionally charged situations (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2000).

Reliability and validity of the inventory have been widely proved. Internal consistencies of the scales were generally high. On the basis of factor analysis and inter-correlations patterns, four reliable higher-level dimensions were distinguished: 'Openness', 'Emotional Stability', 'Social Initiative' and 'Flexibility'. Correlations between these dimensions and related instruments were in the expected direction (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2002). Moreover, data supported the instrument incremental value above the Big

Five in predicting intercultural orientation. In detail, the MPQ counts 91 items with 5-point Likert scales, following the Big Five themes and structure, but is specifically tailored to make predictions in terms of multicultural adaptation. Indeed, the MPQ statements typically refer to behaviour and perceptions in multicultural situations. Some researchers correlated the MPQ traits with the Big Five dimensions and found that 'Cultural Empathy' was positively linked to 'Extraversion', 'Agreeableness', 'Neuroticism' and 'Openness to Experience' (Leone, van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, Perugini, and Ercolani, 2005). 'Openmindedness' was significantly related to 'Extraversion' and negatively correlated to 'Conscientiousness'. 'Social Initiative' was negatively linked to 'Neuroticism'. 'Emotional Stability' was positively linked to 'Extraversion' and 'Agreeableness'. 'Flexibility' was positively linked to 'Extraversion', and negatively linked to 'Conscientiousness' (Leone, van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, Perugini, and Ercolani, 2005)

The MPQ proved to have cross-cultural equivalence, as shown through its Dutch, Italian, German and Australian versions (van Oudenhoven, Timmerman, and van der Zee, 2007). Similar satisfactory results were found with an American–English version (Ponterotto, Utsey, & Pederson, 2006). It has therefore been used in several studies on acculturation that will be illustrated in the section II.3.2.

II.2.5. Personality and Language: an Introduction

Language plays an important role in the personalities of multilingual people (Matsumoto, 1994). This notwithstanding, the majority of research on multilingualism focuses on linguistic aspects of migration and acculturation,

but typically pays less attention to psychological aspects (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009: 4). It is thus crucial to note that, even if personality is generally considered as stable throughout an individuals' lifecycle, it is still shaped by environmental factors (Furnham & Heaven, 1999; Jang & al., 1996; McCrae & al., 2000; Tracy-Ventura & al 2016). Dewaele & van Oudenhoven (2009) showed that certain personality dimensions of young teenagers were linked to their multilingualism and multiculturalism. The researchers found that there is a correlation between number of languages mastered and personality dimensions. Results indicated that multilinguals were more able to empathise with cultures different from their heritage, more open-minded and less able to control their emotional reactions compared to incipient bilinguals[1]. Language dominance, a concept that will be presented in detail later in this chapter (section II.6), was also reported to have an influence on personality traits. A closer look revealed that participants who felt dominant in more than one language reported higher scores on the same personality features mentioned above compared to people who felt dominant only in one language (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009: 14-15). These findings will be more extensively presented in the paragraph centred on language dominance (section II.6.2.2). There is growing evidence that foreign language (LX) acquisition has an influence on personality and that there is a significant change in multilinguals' self-perceptions accompanied by language switching (Dewaele, 2016b; Koven 1998, 2001; Panayiotou, 2004; Pavlenko, 2006; Ramirez-Esparza et al, 2006). Guiora (1975) was a pioneer in this area of research. Starting with an interest in basic psychological

[1] Monolinguals in the process of learning a foreign language.

processes, he developed appropriate research strategies which, over the years, pursued a line of inquiry that aimed to study the reciprocal influence of language and personality. More specifically, in his cross-cultural studies on bilingual behaviour, Guiora investigated both how language affects personality development and how personality development affects the way language is used:

> "To speak a second language authentically is to take on a new identity. As with empathy, it is to step into a new and perhaps unfamiliar pair of shoes" (Guiora et al 1975: 48).

In summary, recent research suggests that individuals' personality can be affected by multilingualism (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Wei, 2013; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). Empirical evidence illustrating the influence of language on personality will be presented in detail in the following paragraphs.

II.2.6. Personality, Language and Emotions

Emotions can be observed by means of expression or changes in behaviour (Solomon, 2003). Matsumoto (1994) believed that bilinguals have two clearly distinct cultural orientations shown by each of their languages, and thus implying that language influences cognitive operations:

> "Because of the close connection between culture and language, a number of writers have suggested that bilinguals will differ in their behavior because of differences in the degree of assimilation of different cultures in the same individual" (Matsumoto & Assar, 1992: 85)

Matsumoto and Assar (1992) used a well-studied cross-cultural research paradigm involving emotional perception in order to test the effects of language on the judgment of facial expressions of emotion, which are

believed to be universal[2]. They asked English-Hindi bilinguals to indicate which emotion was being portrayed and the intensity of it in a set of forty different facial expressions of emotions. Participants judged the emotions in two separate sessions, one conducted entirely in English and the other one in Hindi. The authors expected that cultural differences would manifest in the language spoken, ultimately producing differences in emotion judgment. The findings provided some support for this notion. Anger, fear, and sadness were more accurately recognised in English than in Hindi. These findings were discussed in relation to the theoretical connection between culture and language, corroborating the idea that emotional judgments also differ as a function of language. Continuing his research, Matsumoto (2006) also documented the existence of cultural differences on emotion regulation, showing that those differences were mediated by individual differences (Matsumoto, 2006: 421). By arguing that cultural worldviews help to construct different self-concepts in people of different cultures, Matsumoto says that culture could also modulate emotional responses (p. 422). The author claimed emotions are central to the structure of personality (Cf. Keltner, 1996; Malatesta-Magai, 1990). In his large-scale study, based on almost 8000 North American and Japanese participants, Matsumoto showed that cultural differences regarding emotion regulation were entirely accounted for by individual differences in 'Extraversion', 'Neuroticism' and 'Conscientiousness' traits:

[2] Darwin (1872) was the first to argue the universal nature of facial expressions. Ekman (1969), by showing photographs portraying various emotions to individuals from remote cultures, provided the first scientific evidence able to prove that facial expression of some basic emotions are universally recognised. These aspects will be discussed in more details in the paragraph II.4.1.3

> "These findings are consistent with the notion that emotion regulation is part, but not the whole, of some personality traits and that country differences on emotion regulation are basically accounted for by individual differences in these traits" (p.429)

Further literature focused on culture and emotions will be presented in sections II.4.1.1., II.4.1.2., II.4.2.1 and II.4.2.2.

Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) motivated her interest in personality aspects by claiming that prominent researchers such as Pavlenko or Wierzbicka never considered it as one of the factors influencing cognitive shift or changes in perceptions while operating in the LX. In her study (2013), she investigated whether bilinguals' L1 and L2 emotion perception and expression were connected to various personality factors. Her research combined a short version of the Big Five personality model (International Personality Item Pool - IPIP) (Goldberg, 1990) and the trait Emotional Intelligence (EI) Questionnaire (TEIQue) (Petrides & Furnham, 2003). The author's investigation into 102 Polish-English speakers showed that higher scores of 'Extraversion' and 'Openness' are linked to the sense of feeling different while using L2. Specifically, the sense of feeling different when switching languages will be further explored in a dedicated section of this chapter (II.5.). The trait of 'Neuroticism' was negatively correlated with difficulties in expressing emotion in L2. The researcher expected 'Neuroticism' to be positively related to the difficulty in expressing emotions in L2, and she therefore argued that individuals with high scores on 'Neuroticism' might tend to avoid expressing emotions in general, perceiving no difference in terms of difficulties when using the L1 or L2:

> "It could be speculated that high scores on Neuroticism that imply an enduring tendency to experience negative emotional states as well as

> responding poorly to environmental stress might influence low scores on expression of emotions [...] Perceiving no difficulties in expressing emotions in L2 might be connected with the lack of such activity" (pp. 80-81)

Furthermore, her findings indicated that some facets of Emotional Intelligence (EI), namely 'Self-esteem', 'Stress-management', 'Adaptability' and 'Self-control', impact on the way people identified difficulties in expressing emotion in L2. Specifically, lower scores on EI traits indicated higher perception of difficulties in expressing emotions in L2. Moreover, feeling different when using L2 appeared to be related to EI facets: 'Emotion expression', 'Empathy', 'Social Awareness', 'Emotion perception', 'Emotion management', 'Emotionality' and 'Sociability'. The author explained that people who were socially skilled and reported higher emotional sensitivity were also more attentive to behavioural changes. Research on the connection between personality and emotion expression will be more accurately presented later in this chapter (section II.4.2.3.)

II.2.7. Summary of the literature on Personality, Multilingualism and Acculturation

Previous paragraphs (section II.2.2.) showed evidence that personality characteristics might differ according to cultures (Allik and McCrae, 2004) and that they can be shaped by environmental factors (Furnham & Heaven's 1999; Jang & al., 1996; McCrae & al., 2000) as well as socio-linguistic factors (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Wei, 2013; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). A pioneer in the field of personality and bilingualism is Wilson (2008, 2013), who researched individuals' self-perceptions when operating in an LX with reference to their personality profiles. Wilson's

investigation into 172 British adult LX users revealed that personality traits could influence how individuals feel about LX use (2008). Specifically, her findings showed that introverted participants were more likely to feel different when operating in an LX. Her research will be presented in detail in the section of this chapter dedicated to migrants' self-perceptions in different languages (II.5.).

In summary, research has shown that both knowledge of other languages, their use in affective socialisation processes and acculturation aspects might be affected by (Kim, 2001; Matsumoto, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Wilson, 2008) and – at the same time – influence individuals' personal profiles (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Wei, 2013; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). For all these reasons, it seems crucial that any study dealing with acculturation processes and bi- or multilingualism should include personality dimensions. Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) explained:

> "[...] it is an important variable that might influence and be influenced by mentioned above factors. It is important to remember that personality influences that way we function in the world, be it our culture and language or the host culture and language, but that at the same time one's personality might be influenced by the very process of acculturation or socialization into new culture and language" (p.56).

Including individual differences and personality traits in research on bilingualism, emotions or changes in linguistic behaviour seemed indeed to provide a broader and more reliable picture of reality. In order to better understand phenomena like acculturation or linguistic attitudes in migrants it is vital to:

> "[...] incorporate both linguistics and psychological variables as well as to treat at the relationship between personality and a foreign language use as a reciprocal one" (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013: 57).

The following paragraphs (sections: II.3., II.4., II.5., II.6.) will introduce literature on cultural, emotional and linguistic attitudes in migrants' experience, connecting each factor to personality.

II.3. On Acculturation

II.3.1. Acculturation as a bi-dimensional construct: a theoretical background

Acculturation – referring to cultural adaptation at the individual level -has attracted considerable scholarly interest in the past years, mainly due to unprecedented rates of migration (Steiner, 2009). Indeed, nowadays, people are much more likely to leave their heritage environment and move to a different one for a variety of social, political or economic reasons. The change of environment has an impact on the individual, which can vary depending on numerous factors, such as the receiving culture, as well as the individual's capacity to adapt to the new world. Acculturation research generally investigates the way in which people accommodate the two different environments, their original one and the dominant culture in which they are immerse. This increased attention to acculturation has been accompanied by core definitional questions about what this phenomenon is and how it functions. Although it has been generally defined as cultural change following intercultural contact (Berry, 1980), what exactly changes as a result of acculturation has been more difficult to outline (Schwartz & al., 2014). The most common domains include language use and other cultural behaviours

(Kang, 2006), values, attitudes (Berry, 1997; Berry & al., 2006) and ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

In the uni-dimensional approach to acculturation, individuals are placed on a continuum ranging from exclusively heritage culture to exclusively mainstream culture. This perspective was first introduced by Gordon (1964), who developed an assimilation model in which penetration into the mainstream culture is necessarily accompanied by "the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its distinctive values" (p. 81). Researchers have proposed complex uni-dimensional models, contemplating the possibility that different aspects of cultural identity could proceed along the acculturation continuum at different rates. The majority of these studies relied on demographic variables, such as generational status, age at migration, or time spent in the new country, intended as alternative measures of acculturation, with the underlying assumption being that individuals have more exposure and consequently greater adaptation to the mainstream culture with the passage of time. Such an approach has proven valuable in examining a number of topics, such as personality characteristics of different cultural groups. Although rudimentary demographic indicators are a simple and useful means of going beyond cultural categories, they fail to account for numerous individual differences and other elements affecting the degree of adaptation to the new culture, for example pre-migration exposure to the host culture, residence in an ethnic neighbourhood, willingness to seek language education and social contact with locals. To address these shortcomings, a number of researchers have

developed self-report instruments designed to assess psychological acculturation including individual differences.

In contrast to the uni-dimensional perspective, acculturation has also been defined as a bi-dimensional construct, where host culture acquisition and heritage culture retention are considered as separate dimensions (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). A person can, for example, acquire host cultural orientations while still retaining practices typical of the culture of origin. Combining bi-dimensionality with the use of multiple domains yields a model where heritage and host cultural streams operate simultaneously. Such models are based on two core assumptions:

> "First, the model presupposes that individuals differ in the extent to which self-identity includes culturally based values, attitudes, and behaviours. Culture may play a large role in the identities of some individuals, whereas others may base their identity more on factors such as occupation or religion. Second, individuals are capable of having multiple cultural identities, each of which may independently vary in strength" (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000: 50)

If these assumptions are correct, the use of a uni-dimensional approach could provide an incomplete or deceptive picture of acculturation, as it is unable to distinguish a bicultural individual who strongly identifies with both reference groups from one who does not identify with either group. One of the most significant bi-dimensional approaches has been Berry's acculturation framework. Berry (1980, 2001, 2006) observed that acculturating individuals face two fundamental questions, further discussed by Matsumoto (2001): "Is it of value to maintain my cultural heritage? [...] Is it of value to maintain relations with other groups?" (p. 417). Individuals' responses to these questions lead them to the adoption of a particular acculturation strategy. Thus, Berry argues that these two dimensions (the maintenance of the

heritage culture and the relationship between the individual and the mainstream culture) emerge simultaneously. Although his framework is based on a bi-dimensional model, Berry conceptualised four distinctive acculturation strategies based on the quadrants defined by these two dimensions, which are then assessed with separate subscales: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. Integration involves maintaining cultural heritage while pursuing intergroup relations; assimilation involves abandoning cultural heritage in favour of the adoption of new culture practices; separation involves maintenance of heritage culture without converging with the dominant culture; and marginalization involves lack of adherence to either heritage or host culture. Despite the fact that some researchers argue against such concepts (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000), considering them to be too vague and lacking scientific evidence (and Berry (1998) himself says the reported scale inter-correlations frequently contradict theoretical expectations), this model is still an influential one and has been extensively used in psychological literature.

Another bi-dimensional discussion of acculturation, proposed by LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) provides insights into a person's transition from the culture of origin to the point where the person gains competence in the dominant culture. LaFromboise and her colleagues (1993) define an individual's cultural competence as being able to ascribe to the beliefs and values of the culture, communicating in the local language, behaving in a socially acceptable manner, maintaining social relationships within host society and being able to deal with the institutions of that culture. While they state that one need not be entirely competent in all these aspects,

the researchers argue that the more competent they are in these, the fewer problems they will encounter when functioning in the new environment. The models LaFromboise and her colleagues (1993) introduced are: assimilation, acculturation, alternation, multiculturalism and fusion. Assimilation is the process of inclusion into the culture that is perceived as dominant and more desirable, eventually leading to the abandonment of the original culture. This model resembles Berry's assimilation model, with the only difference being that the former incorporates a temporal aspect of assimilation, intended as a slow absorption of the minority group to the dominant one. The fusion model suggests that the cultures will fuse together to such an extent that they will create an emerging culture, intended as a hybrid blend of the heritage and the host cultural streams. The acculturation model emphasises that individuals can become entirely competent in the new culture, while still remaining members of the original one, whereas the alternation model assumes that individuals can be competent in both cultures and choose to identify with either of them, according to the context. Finally, the multicultural model states that individuals can keep a positive identification with their heritage while developing relationships within the culture they live in. Still in support of the idea of acculturation as a bi-dimensional construct, Schwartz et al. (2010) have proposed a model where heritage and receiving culture streams are assumed to operate within the domains of practices, values, and identifications. The domain of practices includes behaviours such as language use, culinary preferences, choice of friends and use of media. The domain of values refers to beliefs about the relative importance of the individual and of the social group, while the domain of identifications refers to a sense of solidarity with a cultural group or with the country in which one resides.

Numerous standard scales have been developed in order to assess the various domains and dimensions involved in introducing behavioural acculturation measures.

To conclude, whereas the uni-dimensional model provides a parsimonious approach to acculturation, the bi-dimensional model is broader, potentially more inclusive (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000: 51) and in line with the growing body of literature focusing on the way individuals construe their cultural self in a social context (Huynh, Howell & Benet-Martínez, 2009; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). Specifically, this dissertation considers acculturation as a bi-dimensional construct. The following sub-paragraphs will illustrate research proving the validity of this approach and will outline some of the resulting instruments used to measure acculturation which have been developed in the last decade.

II.3.1.1. The Vancouver Index of Acculturation

Although acculturation literature has been varied, Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000) noticed that there was no published empirical work directly comparing the uni-dimensional and bi-dimensional perspectives. When conducting a preliminary investigation of the validity and utility of the bi-dimensional model, the researchers decided to include measures of the Big Five dimensions of personality. Indeed, the authors speculated that the uni-dimensional model would be favoured if the heritage and mainstream acculturation subscales would show inverse patterns of correlation with the same personality traits. In other words, host culture acquisition and heritage culture retention could not be considered as independent dimensions if personality traits negatively related to one cultural dimension and positively

related to the other one. On the other hand, Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000) argued that the bi-dimensional model would be proved effective if the heritage and mainstream acculturation subscales would indicate a coherent pattern of correlations. Specifically, if personality traits had independent sets of correlates or showed similar types of relationships (either positive or negative) with each cultural dimension, host culture acquisition and heritage culture retention could be considered as independent processes:

> "The unidimensional model would be favored if the Heritage and Mainstream subscales showed an inverse pattern of correlates with personality, whereas a coherent, independent set of correlates for each subscale would support the bidimensional model. Thus, examining personality correlates provides an important context in which to compare the two models" (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000: 51)

The authors' first study compared these two models in the domain of personality in a Chinese sample, while the second study examined the models in the context of psychosocial adjustment and the third study replicated the findings of the latter study in both Chinese and multiple non-Chinese samples to prove the cross-cultural validity of their research. The goal of their first study was mainly to investigate the strength of the bi-dimensional model, comparing it with the well-established uni-dimensional model in the context of personality traits. An important consideration in this comparison is the degree of association between the heritage and mainstream dimensions of cultural identity. Using items developed by Suinn, the authors assessed acculturation on separate heritage identification and mainstream identification subscales. Each subscale contained two items: one dealing with values and the other dealing with social interactions. Items were all rated on a 5-point scale. They speculated that a strong negative correlation between the two subscales would support the uni-dimensional model. Conversely, if

the two subscales were found to be relatively independent, each one would display a coherent set of correlates. Ryder, Alden and Paulhus assessed the association between bi-dimensional acculturation and personality using five separate linear regressions. Specifically, the heritage subscale was associated with higher 'Conscientiousness' and lower 'Neuroticism', whereas the mainstream subscale was associated with higher scores on 'Conscientiousness', 'Extraversion', and 'Openness', as well as with lower 'Neuroticism'. Therefore, given that the two cultural dimensions did not display contrasting correlations with the same personality traits, this study indicated that the two subscales were reliable and speculated that:

> "A greater number of items covering a wider range of domains would allow a broader assessment of the construct and possibly yield a more reliable measure of the two dimensions"(Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000: 53)

With this purpose in mind, the authors developed the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA):

> "a self-report instrument that assesses several domains relevant to acculturation, including values, social relationships, and adherence to traditions" (p. 53).

The development of an improved bi-dimensional instrument permitted a more decisive evaluation of acculturation. Participants in the second study, 150 first and second generation US migrants who identified themselves as having Chinese ancestry, received a questionnaire package containing a wide variety of instruments assessing demographics, personality, self-construal, and psychosocial adjustment. In addition, an expanded two-dimensional acculturation scale was developed, self-identity was used as a validation measure, and psychosocial adjustment was quantified via a number of scales

and specific questions. The resulting VIA was a 12-item instrument, specifically designed to measure the heritage and mainstream dimensions of acculturation (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 1999a, 1999b). Items were generated in pairs in relation to content area, with one item in each pair referring to Chinese culture and the other item referring to North American culture. Examples of items included "I am interested in maintaining or developing Chinese traditions" and "I would be willing to marry a North American person", with reference to a 5-point Likert scale (p. 54). Thus, higher subscale scores represented higher identification with the culture of reference. The specific content areas covered by four of the item pairs were derived from a set of items provided by Berry (1998) and from the researchers' previous study. Once again, results supported a bi-dimensional approach to acculturation. The two dimensions of cultural identity proved to be independent and the VIA proved to be a promising instrument for measuring both of them. Analyses showed the two subscales to be reliable and virtually orthogonal in first and second-generation samples (p. 55). Furthermore, strong and coherent associations emerged between the host subscale and variables indicating the exposure to the new culture. In particular, individuals who had been more exposed to the new culture (e.g. they received education in the US) were more likely to score highly on the mainstream subscale (p. 55). A third final study led to the development of a more refined version of the VIA, overcoming practical limitations and making it a more standard scale (Huynh, Howell & Benet-Martínez, 2009).

> "As a means of increasing the utility of the instrument for culturally heterogeneous samples, the 12 items were rewritten so that the items referred to "heritage culture" more generally. A new instructional set was written to clarify the definition of this term" (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000, p. 57).

In order to fully capture the construct of acculturation, several new items were included to measure domains not covered previously. This process resulted in an overall pool of 15 domains, with 1 heritage identity and 1 mainstream identity item for each domain. The revised instrument was then tested using a combination of reliability analysis and principal components factor analysis. Five item pairs were removed because either one or both members of the pair lowered the scale reliability or were cross-loading. This process yielded a refined version of the VIA comprising a total of 20 items. Analyses demonstrated that the two subscales (heritage and host culture) were consistent and exhibited inter-relationships. Once again, strong correlations emerged between the host culture subscale and a wide range of variables indicating the degree of exposure to the new culture, and this time the heritage dimension also displayed a coherent pattern of correlation with these same demographics, even when accounting for smaller effect sizes (Huynh, Howell & Benet-Martínez, 2009).

Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (1999b, 2000) concluded that acculturation involve changes in self-identity resulting from the need to accommodate an old and a new culture, and that these changes could lead to alterations in the individual's sense of self. Researchers provided evidence that people exposed to two cultures could actively incorporate, to varying degrees, two coexisting cultural identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), proving the validity of a bi-dimensional approach over the uni-dimensional one:

> "[...] it does not seem to be the case that the old cultural identity necessarily diminishes while the new one grows; rather, the two identities can vary independently. In short, a bi-dimensional conception, with independent heritage and mainstream dimensions of culture, appears to be far richer and more functional than the traditional uni-dimensional approach" (2000: 63)

Panicacci & Dewaele (2017a), in a study based on the same sample used in the present research, comprised of 468 participants, linked MPQ personality traits to VIA cultural dimensions. In their study, the authors readapted the VIA to use it with Italian migrants living in English-speaking countries (ESC). Respondents' attachment to the heritage culture was negatively linked to their 'Flexibility' and 'Emotional Stability' scores, while their attachment to the mainstream culture was positively related to their 'Cultural Empathy', 'Social Initiative' and 'Openmindedness' scores. Results will be illustrated in more details in chapter IV (sections IV.4.3. and IV.5)

II.3.1.2. The implications of acculturation as a bi-dimensional construct: managing a bicultural identity

Bicultural individuals are those who have been exposed to and have internalised two cultures (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Living in two cultural worlds requires managing cultural differences both socially and psychologically (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Noels, 2013; Zhang, Noels, Lalonde & Salas, 2017). The process of negotiating multiple cultural identities is complex (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005) and the existence of different or even colliding cultural norms and modes of communication may result in difficulty reconciling cultures in individuals (Zhang, Noels, Lalonde & Salas, 2017). Evidence of acculturation as a bi-dimensional construct implies that individuals can simultaneously hold two or more cultural orientations and move between their two cultural orientations by engaging in cultural frame switching (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). Cultural frame switching was intended as the experience of responding to cues of cultural identity – such as linguistic aspects or cultural icons – and applying

appropriate cultural knowledge and behaviours (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet- Martínez, 2000). In this respect, biculturals could "shift their momentary feelings of cultural identification and their situated cultural identities are typically attuned to whichever culture" (Zhang, Noels, Lalonde & Salas, 2017: 4). Benet-Martínez and Haritatos developed the construct of bicultural identity integration (BII) in order to capture individual differences among biculturals in their subjective experience of relating to both cultures (p. 1019). Specifically, the authors examined individual differences in the construction and integration of dual cultural identities and attempted to understand how these differences relate to particular personality dispositions, contextual pressures, and acculturation and demographics (p. 1017). They argued that bicultural identities were differently developed and organized within the concept of self: some experience their cultural identities as harmonious or blended, whereas others experience their cultures as oppositional or compartmentalised (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). This line of research has provided extensive evidence to clarify the socio-psychological consequences of having a more or less integrated bicultural identity (Cheng & al., 2014). A recent study by Zhang, Noels, Lalonde and Salas (2017) explored the effects of managing two cultural identities on the consistency within the bicultural self-concept, offering further clues towards understanding multicultural psychological adjustment. The authors argued that a bicultural mind is a "consistent mind when one manages to weave disparate cultural identities into a coherent whole" (p. 18).

These considerations are believed to shed more light on how a bi-dimensional conception of acculturation leads to the idea of culturally hybrid

identities. Literature on cultural frame switching related to linguistic aspects will be also discussed in the section II.5. of the present chapter[3].

II.3.2. Acculturation and personality in previous research

II.3.2.1. Personality affects the way individuals acculturate

Models of acculturation patterns have been a large part of research in recent decades (Ben-Ezer, 1999; Berry, 1990; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992). In particular, some studies have considered the role of language in the multicultural identity practices (Ben Rafael, Olshtain, & Geijst, 1997; Cooper & Fishman, 1977; Olshtain & Kotik, 2000; Olshtain, Stavans, & Kotik, 2003; Berry, 2003; Stavans, Olshtain, & Goldzweig, 2009). Most research in this area has focused on individuals' experience of short-term adaptation, addressing psychological problems that arise when people encounter a culturally different environment and examining alternative factors that might solicit effective adaptive changes. Some of the key variables discussed in this field of research are related to the perception of the host society, attitudes towards a new culture, psychological adjustments and general intercultural competence (Church 1982; Furnham & Bochner 1986; Furnham 1988). In all these studies the main emphasis was oriented towards migrants' frustration, disorientation, anxiety, 'acculturative stress', 'transition shock' and 'cultural fatigue' (Anderson 1994, Oberg 1960, Berry 1970, 1990, Bennett 1977, Taft 1977). However, starting from Adler's idea (1987) of cultural shock as "an experience in self-understanding and change" (p.29), a

[3] Since the present research is not directly analysing identity negotiation and practices, only a brief review of the BII has been included in this chapter.

recent portion of literature decided to focus more on positive aspects of cultural adaptation, seen as a process of enrichment, growth, profound learning and self-awareness. Ward, Bochner and Furnham (2008) stated that the focus of research was indeed oriented towards people's negative reactions to an unfamiliar cultural environment (2008), instead of the way they actively deal with change or how they feel, behave and think when exposed to a different culture. In this wide spectrum of research, cross-sectional studies showed that no two individuals adapt identically. A variety of theoretical models have been proposed in order to address specific factors, such as psychological and personality characteristics, communication pattern skills, interpersonal relationship preferences, biographical and demographical aspects (age of resettlement, length of residence, socio-economic status, educational background), mass media behaviour or listening skills as central in explaining individuals' different reactions to the acculturation process (Berry, 2003; Gao & Gudykunst 1990, Epstein, Botvin, Dusenberry, Diaz & Kerner 1996, Stilling 1997, Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Kim 1980, 2001, 2005; Hammer, 2011).

A large part of contributions to this field centres on personality traits, which have been analysed both as independent and dependent variables. Immigration and the subsequent acculturation to a new culture could represent a profound social change, which is likely to shape individuals' personal attitudes, character and self. Some researchers investigated those personality variables associated to successful cross-cultural adaptation, such as readiness for change, adaptability, openness, strength and positivity (Kim 2001). Specifically, open-minded people, according to different scales, seem

to minimise their resistance to the new environment and to be less disposed to make ethnocentric judgements (Kim, 2008). Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) found that bicultural individuals who perceived their dual cultural identities as overlapping and in harmony – reflected through their score on the BII scale mentioned in the previous section - also scored high on 'Openness to experience' and low on 'Neuroticism'. Their path analysis revealed 'Openness' as being particularly important:

> "[...] individuals who are rigid and closed to new experiences are more likely to compartmentalize cultural identities, feel stressed about their linguistic abilities, support a separation acculturation strategy, and be less biculturally competent" (p. 1036)

Similarly, Neuroticism seemed to put individuals at risk for negative acculturation experiences:

> "Specifically, neurotic individuals who tend to feel vulnerable and anxious are more likely to perceive conflict between their cultural identities and also experience stress in the linguistic and inter- cultural relations domains" (p.1036)

'Agreeableness' and 'Extraversion' also appeared to play a role in acculturation processes. The authors argued that agreeable individuals, being more relaxed, were less likely to report conflict in their intercultural relationships, and extraverted individuals, benefiting from the gains associated with being sociable and outgoing, were less likely to feel strained by a living environment that is not very multicultural.

Chen and colleagues (1998), by looking at the effects of personality traits, bicultural identity, bilingualism and social context on the psychological adjustment of three groups of immigrants in Hong Kong (mainland Chinese immigrants, Filipino immigrants and mainland Chinese college students),

demonstrated that, over the course of time and generations, personality profiles of migrants increasingly resembled those of the mainstream culture. A series of regression analyses revealed that 'Neuroticism' was the strongest predictor of psychological adjustment for the three groups. After controlling for the effects of self-efficacy, 'Neuroticism' and measures of language and identification, the researchers found that bilingual competence and the perception of integration of cultural identities were important antecedents of beneficial psychological outcomes. Acculturative stress "emerged as a negative predictor of well-being, even after controlling for dispositional Neuroticism and self-efficacy" (McCrae & al., 1998: 831).

An important contribution in the development of personality questionnaires is the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ) (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2000, 2002), which was introduced in section II.2.4.1. Following the shift towards a more positive outlook on the phenomenon of acculturation, Dewaele and Stavans (2014) stated that it is not a coincidence that the MPQ personality dimensions were positively rather than negatively oriented. For example, the trait 'Neuroticism', found in the Big Five model, has been renamed 'Emotional Stability'. Leong (2007) used the MPQ to look at the relationship between personality traits and socio-psychological adaptation of Singaporean undergraduate students in an international exchange program, compared to a control group of domestic students. He found that students who had opted for the exchange program reported significantly higher levels of intercultural competences in four of the five MPQ dimensions, namely 'Openmindedness', 'Social Initiative', 'Flexibility' and 'Emotional Stability', in comparison to the control group. A

high level of 'Social Initiative' was found to predict a reduction in both socio-cultural and psychological difficulties, while high scores on 'Flexibility' correlated with depression. Peltokorpi and Froese (2011) investigated the link between MPQ-measured personality traits of American and European expatriates and their adjustment in Japan. Positive correlations emerged once again between 'Openmindedness' and interaction adjustment, 'Social Initiative' and work adjustment and 'Emotional Stability', 'Cultural Empathy' and general adjustment.

In conclusion, research on personality dimensions as predictor variables of successful cross-cultural adaptation among expatriates or multicultural individuals in general is expanding and reflecting a more positive view of acculturation as a potentially enriching process.

II.3.2.3. Acculturation affects migrants' personality profiles

> "Despite the common perception of personality as stable and unchanging, there is some evidence to suggest that cultural change may be sufficient to cause corresponding changes in personality in the direction of the mainstream culture" (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000: 51)

Indeed, the fact that personality is believed to be the result of the interplay between internal physiological factors and external social factors (Furnham & Heaven, 1999; McCrae & al., 2000; Kim, 2001) leads to the idea that it can both determine the way people acculturate and undergo a process of constant change while adapting to new settings. Dewaele and van Oudenhoven (2009) used the MPQ to look at how the personality traits of 79 young London teenagers were linked to their multilingualism and multiculturalism. Both migrants and participants reporting to be dominant in more than one

language scored significantly higher on the dimension of 'Openmindedness', marginally higher on 'Cultural Empathy' and significantly lower on 'Emotional Stability' compared to locally born informants and participants dominant in one language only (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009:12)[4]. Korzilius, van Hooft, Planken, and Hendrix (2011) referred to the Dewaele and van Oudenhoven (2009) study as a starting point for their own investigation into the link between LX mastery and scores on the MPQ's multicultural personality dimensions among 144 local and international employees of a Dutch multinational company, as well as their business contacts across the world. The researchers found that the number of LXs known by participants significantly correlated with 'Openmindedness' and 'Emotional Stability'. A lower but significant positive correlation was also found between self-assessed knowledge of LXs and 'Cultural Empathy'. The international employees who spoke one more LX than the other groups scored higher on 'Openmindedness' and 'Flexibility' than the local employee group, which reported, on the other hand, being more emotionally stable than the business contacts. Similarly, Dewaele and Wei (2013) used the feedback of an online questionnaire from 2158 multilinguals from around the world (204 different nationalities, 82 different L1s), to investigate the link between multilingualism, a high level of global proficiency, frequent use of various languages and the measure of Tolerance of Ambiguity (TA), a lower-order personality trait (Herman, Stevens, Bird, Mendenhall, & Oddou, 2010). A significant positive link emerged between the number of languages known to participants and their TA scores. While growing up bi- or trilingually from

[4] Results will be more exhaustively discussed in the section II.6., which focus on Language Dominance.

birth had no effect on TA, the experience of having lived abroad had a positive impact. TA thus appears to be influenced by an individual's socio-linguistic and cultural environment and by the conscious effort to learn new languages to better fit into and operate within it.

In a more recent follow-up study, Dewaele and Stavans (2014) looked at whether the linguistic and cultural background of 193 Israeli residents was linked to their personality. Findings confirmed that a variety of social, linguistic and biographical factors were linked to some personality dimensions. Participants with foreign-born parents tended to score lower on 'Emotional Stability' compared to those with locally born parents. Similarly, acculturation and the shift from dominance in the L1 to dominance in a LX resulted in lower levels of 'Emotional Stability'[5]. One of the most striking patterns emerging from this study was the fact that participants with high total proficiency scores (the sum of self-perceived competence scores in up to 5 languages) and total language use scores (the sum of frequency of use for up to 5 languages) reported higher levels of 'Openmindedness' and 'Social Initiative'. Advanced knowledge of several languages was also linked to 'Cultural Empathy'. These findings suggest that intercultural communicative activity was linked to individuals' personality profiles. Finally, a recent study reported personality changes in 58 British students spending a year abroad who undertook the MPQ test before and after their departure (Ventura, Dewaele, Koylu & McManus, 2016). The experience abroad was linked to a significant increase in 'Emotional Stability'. Reflective interviews confirmed

[5] Results will be more exhaustively discussed in the section II.6., which focus on Language Dominance.

these findings, as more than three quarters of participants reported feeling more confident and independent after their year abroad. Informants' narratives also highlighted a positive change in terms of 'Openmindedness' and 'Cultural Empathy' dimensions. The authors explained the fact that results in terms of 'Emotional Stability' were not in line with previous research by considering the fact their sample was composed of young adults only that willingly decided to study abroad.

In conclusion, literature suggests that, while migrants' personality profiles enhance their acculturative practice, migration experiences can trigger changes across all aspects of individuals' psyche, including personality.

II.4. On Emotion

II.4.1. The nature of Emotion

II.4.1.1. Emotions as socio-cultural constructs

The nature of emotion has become a vibrant topic of debate in a wide range of disciplines (Izard, 2003; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006; Dewaele, 2010a). Turner (1990) described emotions as a fuzzy set of several elements. Indeed, an emotion, in its broadest sense, involves cognitions, neuro-physiological processes, physical changes, subjective feelings, facial expressions, and behaviours (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 2004). Rosaldo defined emotions as:

> "[…] self-concerning, partly physical responses that are at the same time aspects of a moral and ideological attitude; emotions are both feelings and cognitive constructions, linking person, action, and sociological milieu" (1984: 304).

Although some researchers strongly believe that 'emotion' is a cultural category by itself (Russell, 1991), there is evidence showing that many communities do not recognise this concept and in some cases there is not even a name for it, where it is custom to describe feelings as they emerge (Lutz; 1985, 1988; Wierzbicka, 1995). Some languages, like Biminkuskusmin of Papua New Guinea (Poole, 1985), Chewong of Malaysia (Howell, 1981), Ifaluk of Micronesia (Lutz, 1988), Tahitian (Levy, 1973), and the Australian aboriginal language Gidjinggali (Hiatt 1978) lack lexical equivalents of the term 'emotion' (Pavlenko, 2008) and they refer to it through a complex network of physical experiences, social relationships or moral obligations, involving components such as desires, thoughts, will or simply human insides (Lutz 1988). Therefore, emotions seem to be the least tangible aspects of human experience, whose direct influence on thoughts, behaviours or body cannot be ignored (Harkins & Wierzbicka, 2001).

Researchers from different fields have investigated emotions, developing different approaches: the Neuro-biological one, which mainly focuses on psychological and physical changes (Harris, 2004); the Cognitive-linguistic one, where emotions are seen as socio-cultural scripts and the language plays a crucial role (Wierzbicka, 1992, 1999, 2004); the Cultural-psychological one, which is focused on psychological aspects and mainly contributed to showing the difference between the Western and Eastern world-views (Kitayama & Markus, 1994); and the Socio-Constructivist one, which inserts emotion into the hierarchy of behavioural systems, analysing them from a social, biological and psychological level (Averill, 1985; Dewaele, 2010a). The assumption that emotions are biologically internal processes that

regulate human behaviour has been of great success among scientists and researchers in the past (Ekman, 1994). However, most recent studies consider emotions as not purely natural or biological events, but something strongly shaped by socio-cultural processes (Barrett, 2008; Frijda, 2009; Lutz, 1985; Rosaldo, 1984). The fact that most emotions occur in the contexts of social interactions and relationships (Wallbott & Scherer, 1986; Parkinson, Fischer, & Manstead, 2005) has led researchers to acknowledge that these contexts constitute, shape, and define emotions (Boiger & Mesquita 2012; Averill, 1980; Harré, 1986; Lutz, 1988; Ratner, 1989). Panayiotou depicted emotions as:

> "[...] biologically generated elements, which must be enriched by meanings before becoming emotional experiences" (2001:70).

According to this view, emotions are biological as well as socio-cultural in nature (Mesquita & Walker 2002). The presence of a 'cultural filter' is crucial to define as 'emotion' a simple biologically generated experience, making it a cultural product (Parrott & Harré, 1996):

> "An emotion is a biologically manifested element, bounded by a bodily experience, understood as a cognitive appraisal of a situation, created and learned with particular cultural meaning-making system, constructed in context and located within cultural categorization system" (Panayiotou, 2004:125).

In such a context, emotions might be acquired with reference to a cultural background, as it is a socio-culturally determined pattern of experience which does not stand by itself, but is rooted in specific social settings (Frijda, 1988; Harkins, 1988; Goddard & al., 1992; Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 2004). From this perspective, language provides a means through which one can access emotions. Considering the situation of migrants, the acquisition of new

emotion patterns seems to be possible only through the socialisation process that takes place when an individual is immersed in the relevant language and culture (Pavlenko, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Talking about migrants' affective socialisation as a way to develop prototypical scripts for new emotions, Pavlenko (2008) stated:

> "In this process, they learn what events and phenomena commonly elicit such emotions, in what context and how these emotions are commonly displayed, and what consequences they may lead to" (p.151)

Thus, individuals can understand certain emotions as they learn the socio-cultural significance they convey (Panayiotou, 2001, 2004; Pavlenko, 2008; Dewaele, 2008).

II.4.1.2. Cross-cultural variance of emotion concepts

Considering emotions not as simple notions but as an essential part of culture has led the majority of researchers to not only prove that some of these concepts are untranslatable but also that emotion scripts differ across cultures and languages (Wierzbicka, 1999).

> "To say that emotion concepts vary does not imply the speakers of different languages have distinct psychological experiences. Rather, it means that they may have somewhat different vantage points from which to evaluate their own and others' emotional experiences"(Pavlenko, 2008: 150)

Altarriba (2003) found that several emotion terms in Spanish and English cannot be linguistically translated, and even such emotion terms like 'love' or 'anger' may be untranslatable when one takes a cultural manifestation into account. Indeed, vocabulary of emotions differs from language to language and cross-linguistic studies of the emotion lexicon show that emotion concepts may cross-culturally vary in several ways. According to Pavlenko,

cross-cultural differences could be examined across all basic constituents of the emotions (Pavlenko 2008). The first difference is located in causal antecedents, as divergences are found in judgements regarding the causes of particular emotions. For instance, in some cultures, emotions are considered to be generated by external events or mental perceptions of these events, while in others they are believed to be generated by gods or internal organs (Heelas, 1986; Myhill, 1997). Another set of differences is centred on appraisals, or the evaluations of emotion-causing events and their consequences. For instance, exhibiting signs of one's dependence might be interpreted as a positive expression of a desirable feeling by Japanese people. Conversely, the same behaviour may be seen as negative among Westerners (Doi, 1973). Furthermore, few studies focused on spotting differences in terms of physiological reactions associated with particular emotions, as mentioned earlier when discussing the Greek emotion *stenahoria* (Panayiotou, 2004). Differences have also been found in emotion display. For instance, Ifaluk and Japanese individuals inhibit the expressions of anger, emphasizing emotional control (Doi, 1973; Levy, 1973). On the contrary, speakers of Israeli Hebrew consider it as a form of self-assertion (Katriel, 1985) and Ilongots and Samoans see anger to be a desirable feature among young males (Rosaldo, 1980; Gerber, 1985; Pavlenko, 2008: 151).

In one of her studies on emotions, Pavlenko (2008) stressed that there are some major cross-linguistic differences in emotion encoding by means of either verbs or adjectives (Wierzbicka, 1992, 2004; Pavlenko 2002a, 2002b). Indeed, some languages like Polish or Russian favour "emotion verbs that function as relationship markers and encode emotions as personal and

interpersonal processes" (Pavlenko, 2008: 150). On the other hand, other languages like English, "favour adjectives and nouns that function as self-markers and encode emotions as inner states" (p. 150). On a different level, Panayiotou (2004) showed cross-cultural variation of emotions at a lexical level. Her studies involving Greek-English bilinguals showed that some language-specific terms, such as the Greek emotion term *stenahoria* – a socio-culturally determined pattern of experiencing frustration that also conveys physical discomfort, perceived in the form of suffocation, were untranslatable (Panayiotou, 2004). Greek-English bilinguals clearly proved that English 'frustration' and Greek *stenahoria* were felt to be "uniquely rooted" (p. 132) in the culture of reference, and consequently that different cultures did not seem to be equally equipped with suitable elicitations to express that emotion in particular. Hence, *stenahoria* cannot be felt in English (Panayiotou, 2001). Panayiotou argued that what lacked was not a lexical counterpart of the Greek term but the specific situation that could evoke that peculiar feeling. The same occurred in the case of the Polish emotion of *tęsknota*, which has no direct equivalent in English (Wierzbicka, 1992; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2016). Wierzbicka (1992) indicated several English words as potential translation equivalents like 'homesick', 'long', 'miss', 'pine', or 'nostalgia', but she claimed they all differ from one another and from the Polish term under consideration. The linguist (1992) provided a detailed analysis of *tęsknota* as "the pain of distance" (p. 97), suggesting a real separation in space, something that was not evoked – together with the same pain connotation – in any English equivalent. Wierzbicka (1992) explained that this was a culture-specific emotion which can only be felt in Polish. Following the same thread, it was argued by other researchers that some

concepts like *amae* (Doi, 1990), *fago* (Lutz, 1988) or *perezhivat* (Pavlenko, 2002a) cannot be translated into other languages without taking into account their cultural manifestation.

All this evidence suggests that emotion concepts vary across languages and are deeply embedded into the cultural model that generates them (Scherer, 1997b; Wierzbicka, 1992; Pavlenko, 2008).

II.4.1.3. Universalism and Relativism: finding a common ground to define emotions

Despite the fact that emotions are deeply embedded in their unique cultural frame, research has suggested that some emotions are widely recognisable among different cultures, therefore suggesting the existence of some universal patterns in emotional experiences. The debate on whether emotions are universal or culture-specific started with Darwin (1872), who described the universal nature of facial expressions. However, the first scientific evidence able to question the cultural theory of emotion only appeared in the late sixties. By showing photographs portraying various emotions to individuals from remote cultures, Ekman (1969) found that people are not only able to recognise each given emotion, but also to assign it to a specific situation that could elicit it. He provided evidence that considering emotions as culturally learned behaviours might not be the only way of looking at this phenomenon. Consequently, he came up with a theory of 'basic emotions' (joy, distress, anger, fear, surprise, and disgust), claiming them to be universal and innate, and explaining that there is no culture in which these emotions are absent. Other researchers contributed to the debate, all stating that there is a shared knowledge on emotions (Moore, Romney,

Hsia & Rush, 1999) and that people who speak different languages could interpret facial expressions in similar ways (Izard, 1977; Russell, 1984). The main conclusion of these studies was that all cultures share a cognitive structure and there are important similarities in the perception of emotions across different languages. Although it is now widely accepted that some emotions are universal and innate (Evans, 2001), this does not negate the fact that a large part of individuals' emotion repertoire is culture-specific and can only be developed through direct exposure to the relative culture that produced it (Evans, 2001; Wierzbicka, 1999).

> "Our common emotional heritage binds humanity together in a way that transcends cultural difference. In all places and all times, human beings have shared the same basic emotional repertoire. Different cultures have elaborated on this repertoire, exalting different emotions downgrading others, and embellishing the common feelings of cultural nuances" (Evans 2001: 11)

Hence, although human beings are equipped with a set of universal emotions, the culture they live in provides them with different means of perceiving and expressing them, to the extent that they create and develop a unique emotion repertoire. Pavlenko (2008) connected all these aspects, defining emotions as:

> "[…] prototypical scripts, formed as a result of repeated experiences and involve causal antecedents, appraisals, physiological reactions, consequences, and means of regulation and display. These concepts are embedded in larger systems of beliefs about psychological and social processes, often viewed as cognitive models, folk theories of mind or ethno-psychologies" (p. 150)

Her prototype-script-based approach is founded on experimental studies as well as pragmatic and semantic analysis carried out by several researchers. As a result, it is shared by linguists (Lakoff, 1987; Wierzbicka, 1994), psychologists (Fehr & Russell, 1984; Russell, 1991, 1991b; Mesquita & Frijda,

1992) and anthropologists (Lutz & White, 1986) and represents a good framework for the analysis of emotions at a cross-cultural level. The strength of this approach is mainly that it considers the conceptualisation of emotions instead of emotions *per se*. This is compatible with the universalists' view of emotions, as it grants that there are concepts derived from shared human experiences, and – at the same time – it recognises differences in emotion concepts across cultures by adopting a script-like structure that validates the experiential nature of emotions, acquiring relativists' consent, too. The conceptual framework adopted is thus compatible with Universalism and Relativism and could explain why individuals are able to learn new emotion concepts like Russian *perezhivat* (Pavlenko, 2002), Polish *tęsknota* (Wierzbicka, 1992), Greek *stenahoria* (Panayiotou, 2006) through the exposure to the relevant language and culture (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013).

II.4.1.4. Final observations: Emotions in Cultural Models

Mesquita (2001, 2003), while introducing the multi-aspect theory of emotions, explained that current theories (Frijda, 1986; Lang, 1988; Scherer, 1997a) conceived emotions as outcomes of multiple aspects, such as appraisal, action readiness, autonomic nervous system activity and behavioural goal setting. All these different aspects did not automatically follow from each other, as each had its own independent determinants in addition to the eliciting event. Hence, the surfacing emotion might vary from one occurrence to the next (Feldman & Barrett, 1998, 2001). Boiger and Mesquita (2012: 223) considered the social construction of emotion as an on-going process within three embedded contexts: moment-to-moment interactions, developing or on-going relationships and sociocultural contexts. These

researchers discussed interdependencies amongst these contexts and insisted on the necessity of looking at emotions as dynamic processes, able to involve several factors at the same time:

> "We approach the question of what an emotion is, and how it is constructed, from a multi-componential perspective of emotion. In this view, emotions emerge from the interplay between several components (cognitive, motivational, and physiological) rather than being unitary entities" (p. 221)

Mesquita (2001) also distinguished between emotional practices, intended as the actual emotions that people could experience and express, and the emotional potentials, intended as the emotional responses people might potentially produce (Mesquita & al., 1997; Mesquita & Ellsworth, 2001; Mesquita & Walker, 2002). According to this view, as emotions occur, people select and activate outputs from their emotional potential. Hence, cultural differences in emotions "primarily reside in emotional practices" (Mesquita & Walker, 2002: 778). Indeed other disciplines, such as anthropology, already revealed that cultural differences mainly subsist in patterns and contexts of emotion outputs (Levy, 1973; Lutz, 1988).

> "Thus, the cultural likelihood of particular emotional outputs—agency appraisals in this case—depends on the centrality of the emotional output to the pertinent cultural models. Outputs are less likely to occur when they are at odds with the cultural model, whereas outputs consistent with the cultural model are more likely to be activated" (Mesquita & Walker, 2002: 779)

Consequently, the introduction of cultural models as a context for understanding and predicting emotional phenomena does not assume that cultures are homogeneous groups of people. As individuals in a culture will engage the model in different ways, their individual experiences will differ as well (Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997). Notwithstanding that, the world

still powerfully reflects dominant cultural models, within which emotions are defined, formed, and promoted (Bruner, 1986). Therefore, contextualising emotions in these specific cultural models strengthens the idea that emotional experiences and behaviours are better interpreted if we have knowledge of the cultural models in which they occur (Mesquita & Walker, 2002).

All relevant studies briefly mentioned in this series of paragraphs will now be presented in detail.

II.4.2. Previous research on Emotions

II.4.2.1. Introduction: Emotions across Languages and Cultures

Emotions represent a crucial ingredient of individuals' lives, as they are part of face-to-face interactions, communication and all kind of social activities. Often, people can only fully realise the substantial contribution made by emotions to their social life when hitting language barriers (Dewaele 2010a). Todorov (1994) states that some bicultural bilinguals face difficulties while translating from one language to another. Research highlights that even some common emotions like 'love' are not equivalent between cultures (Panayiotou 2001, 2004) or at least that the emotion vocabulary attached to these emotions' scripts is not perceived in the same way (Dewaele, 2008, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2017). This phenomenon is mainly evident among late multilinguals that acquired their new language later in life. Indeed, most bilinguals describe their experience of bilingualism as living a double life in between two worlds (Wierzbicka, 2004; Pavlenko, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013), while others consider their socialisation in an LX as an intense process

of personal transformation (Wierzbicka, 1985, 2004; Hoffman, 1989; Pavlenko, 1998, 2005).

> "It is important to bear in mind that two languages of a bilingual person differ not only in their lexical and grammatical repertoires for expressing and describing emotions but also in the sets of 'emotional scripts' regulating emotion talk [...] The testimony of many bilingual people who have reflected on their own experience shows that for bilingual people, living with two languages can mean indeed living in two different emotional words and also travelling back and forth between those two worlds. It can also mean living suspended between two words" (Wierzbicka, 2004: 101-102)

Several researchers pointed out the intriguing and fascinating nature of bilinguals' experiences, their double vision of life (Kramsch, 1998) and their emotional hybridity (Wierzbicka, 1992; Pavlenko, 2006). Whorf (1956) believed that learning another language could transform and enhance the speaker's world-view. According to that perspective, multilingualism appears as a very complex phenomenon (Altarriba & Heredia, 2008), which influences memory, intelligence, personality, perception, and many other aspects of human life; however, its complex nature, at the same time, is probably the reason why it so attractive as a field of research. Here is why the study of emotions represents an interesting addition to research on multilingualism. Pavlenko (2007), claiming that cross-linguistic studies were still at an early stage, portrayed the examination of emotions in multilingual contexts as a relatively new research trend, able to involve scholars from different backgrounds. This has led to the development of a growing field of research, linking psychology, anthropology and linguistics, focused on "language, cognition, emotion, self, and the human condition in general" (Wierzbicka 2005: 24).

People who cross physical, linguistic, and cultural boundaries offer a great opportunity of cross-cultural comparison of emotion terms, expression and perception as they subjectively experience two languages and two cultures in themselves (Panayiotou, 2004). In a world where people are more multilingual than monolingual (Li Wei, 2007), research into the interface of emotions and multilingualism provides new insights on issues concerning the relationship between languages, culture, and identity itself. Matsumoto (1994) suggested that in the case of a bicultural bilingual, each language accesses a different set of cultural values. He also noted that bilinguals' behaviour would depend on the language that is in current use:

> "When reappraising events, therefore, it is likely that individuals will tap into cultural and personal ideologies to retrieve guidelines for ways in which they should evaluate or appraise emotion-eliciting situations" (Matsumoto, 2006:422)

Language users thus access a different set of cultural values through each language they are exposed to. Based on the above, many multilinguals report that they think or feel differently depending on their linguistic context. Furthermore, multilinguals' interpretation of emotions might change as a consequence of the exposure to an LX (Pavlenko, 2005; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Pavlenko (2008), in her analysis of comparability of emotions, enumerates three possible relationships between concepts encoded in two different languages: concepts that may be similar or identical; one language may have a concept that has no counterpart in the other; and two or more concepts may be in partial overlap. In the first case, complete overlap may facilitate LX learning as well as transfer. In the second case, learners find no translation equivalent in their L1, and, in order to internalize the new concept, LX socialization becomes necessary even to develop prototypical scripts.

Finally, in the last case, one concept may represent a sub-part of another (nesting relationship), as visible in Stepanova Sachs and Coley's (2006) analysis of the English notion *jealousy* and its Russian translation equivalent *revnost'* (used for intimate jealousy) and *zavist' (*envy). Alternatively, it may refer to two or more lexically and conceptually different terms in another language (relation of split), for instance, English offers one term to connote 'anger', while the Yankunytjatjara language of Central Australia has three (Goddard, 1991). The way people interpret their own emotions therefore depends on the lexical grid provided by their native language (Harkins & Wierzbicka, 2001). Wierzbicka often mentioned that linguistic differences are rooted in cultural attitudes, and that emotions are important clues to understand cultural patterns. In several instances, she proved that the meanings of words from different languages reflect specific ways of living and thinking, typical of a given society.

> "Since the way we think about what happens to us is an integral part of the experience, the emotions associated with these different interpretations may also be different" (Wierzbicka, 2004:95).

Many researchers argued that any theory on emotion should include linguistic and cultural elements (Panayiotou, 2001; Rosaldo, 1980; Wierzbicka, 1994a, 1998). This argument is supported by the observations suggesting that the emotional life of speakers of different languages is likely to be different. Wierzbicka (1992, 1994, 1999, 2004) also points out that ethnocentrism is so intrinsic in any translation or definition attempt that the only way to get rid of it is via a reductive paraphrase method which relies on a neutral metalinguistic tool: the Natural Semantic Metalanguage. Using this method she builds up her 'Cultural scripts theory' and shows, for example,

how Polish allows for spontaneous expression of emotions and how expressing emotions in Polish by means of verbs lets people conceptualise emotions as inner engaging activities, rather than as states to passively undergo (Pavlenko, 2002a; Wierzbicka, 1992, 2004). Following the same method and analysis, Wierzbicka also points out important differences between Polish and English in the use of diminutives and endearments (Besemeres, 2004; Wierzbicka, 1999), exhibiting how feelings may be deeply embedded inside the language.

II.4.2.2. Emotional Acculturation

The variegated body of research on acculturation illustrated in the previous paragraph has mainly dealt with socio-cultural and psychological outcomes (Berry & Kim, 1998). There has been little focus on the acculturation of specific cognitive processes, such as emotions. De Leersnyder, Mesquita and Kim (2011) looked at migrants' emotional adaptation to the mainstream emotional patterns of the culture in which they engaged, labelling it 'emotional acculturation':

> "Emotional acculturation refers to changes in emotional patterns due to an immigrant exposure and contact with a new or second world"(De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011: 452)

The authors believed that migrants' emotional acculturation could reflect their level of sharing and participation to the culture meanings and practices (De Leersnyder, 2014; Mesquita, 2003). Following the assumption that people embody ideas in forms of emotions (Bruner, 1996), the authors pointed out that the emotional experiences of people who live together tend

to be similar and that migrants' emotions approximate host culture patterns of emotional experience:

> "Their emotional patterns express and reinforce the prevalent meanings and practices in their cultural context and, therefore, implicitly signal their socio-cultural affiliations" (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2012: 452)

Emotional fit may greatly help communication, engagement and participation in the host culture meaning practices, also determining a general positive evaluation of the whole experience by migrants. The researchers' assumption is that whether a person experiences a specific emotion frequently or rarely seems to be systematically related to his or her culture's core meanings and practices (Markus & Kitayama, 1994; Mesquita & Leu, 2007). This study started from the evidence that meaning, frequency and intensity of specific emotions differ across cultures. The researchers explained that even the same emotion, such as anger, seemed to be experienced differently across cultures, as mentioned in previous paragraphs. In a culture that emphasises independence, for instance, anger would be experienced with a feeling of being in control, but in a culture that emphasises inter-dependence, anger would be experienced with a feeling of guilt (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2010: 451). Therefore, individuals' emotional experiences could eventually depict the mainstream values and practices of their socio-cultural settings. By adopting a cultural psychology perspective on acculturation, in which psychological processes are seen as mutually constitutive with cultural meanings and practices (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 2004), De Leersnyder, Mesquita and Kim believe that contact with a new culture could lead to changes in all aspects of human psyche:

> "People's psychological processes themselves, and their emotional experiences in particular, may thus be a function of acculturation" (2010:452).

Since emotions imply sociocultural affiliation, the similarity between a migrant's emotional pattern and the one typical of the host culture reflects that migrant's internalisation of the new culture: "we refer to this fit as 'emotional concordance'" (2011: 452). According to this theoretical framework, people's emotional patterns change in response to their engagement in a new cultural context (De Leersnyder, 2014; Mesquita, 2003). Some studies proved that emotionally similar groups and communities tend to be happier and closer (Smith, Seger & Mackie, 2007). Hence, emotion concordance in migrants might be considered a form of social adjustment (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014).

In order to measure to what degree emotions acculturate and which circumstances may help the emotion pattern assimilation process, De Leersnyder, Mesquita and Kim carried out a study on Korean migrants in the United States and a study on Turkish migrants in Belgium using an Emotional Patterns Questionnaire (EPQ) (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2009) which prompted migrants and locals to describe their emotional experience and rate their own emotions. The authors believed the EPQ could be less susceptible to self-presentational biases acculturation scales, as respondents here were not explicitly asked about their cultural attitudes and preferences (2010). EPQ results were consequently compared and emotional concordance measured with reference to the average of the mainstream sample. Findings indicated migrants' exposure to the host culture was a

predictor of emotional acculturation. Specifically, participants who had spent a larger proportion of their life in the host country and had more contact with locals were more likely to be emotionally acculturated as a result of intercultural interactions and relationships. The researchers concluded that interpersonal relationships do not take place in a vacuum but are rather culturally contextualised and of vital importance in acculturation processes.

Migrants' emotion repertoire seems thus to be shaped and enriched as a consequence of their interactions within different cultural contexts (Mesquita, 2003; 2010). This important contribution offers evidence that social interaction can transform and enrich migrants' patterns of emotional experience (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014; Mesquita, 2003).

II.4.2.3. Research on Emotions among Bilinguals

Providing a brief overview of research conducted in the field of emotions, there is a wide variety of methods and approaches, mainly focused on emotion expression, perception, representation and experience. A good number of researchers showed interest in the expression of emotions in an LX (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010a, 2011, 2015; Pavlenko, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008; Panayiotou 2004, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017; Wierzbicka, 2004). Common findings in these studies were that multilinguals experience difficulties in expressing emotions in their LX (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele, 2004c; 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2004, 2005, 2006). Dewaele and Pavlenko (2002) examined how emotion vocabulary was

incorporated and used in interlanguage, considering the assumption that being language and culture specific emotion vocabulary might be subject to different constraints in L2 use. The authors also contemplated the possibility that the use of emotion terms was related not only to sociocultural aspects but also to individual experiences. Specifically, they carried on two studies, focusing on five factors that might impact on L2 emotion vocabulary: sociocultural competence, language proficiency, gender, extraversion and topic. The first study involved 29 Belgian speakers of Dutch L1 and French L2, who shared a common cultural background and whose emotion vocabulary and concepts are considered to overlap. This investigation examined the influence of language proficiency, gender and extraversion on the frequency of use and the range of emotion words in the French interlanguage. The second study looked at 34 Russian native speakers – 20 learners of English as an LX and 14 L2 users of English living in the US, and focused on the impact of social competence, gender and topic on English interlanguage emotion vocabulary. Both studies suggested that the frequency of use and range of emotion terms in interlanguage are linked to proficiency level, topic extraversion, and only in some cases to gender. In Russian, emotionality emerged as a highly regarded trait (Wierzbicka, 1992, 1998), especially for feminine talk, while in American English it is not such an essential dimension of language and it is regarded rather negatively (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002: 296). Thus, recalling Hoffman's (1989) experience when describing her migration from Poland to the United States in her autobiography, Pavlenko (2004) speculated that in the process of acculturating to the new discursive community, Russian females in particular could find it necessary to become less emotional. Furthermore, the trait extraversion played a significant role in

the range of emotion vocabulary, confirming the argument that sociable, outgoing and talkative participants were less anxious and used a wider range of emotional terms and probably used more colloquial vocabulary as well. The idea behind this argument was that both emotions and colloquial words could be seen as threatening for LX speakers as an inappropriate use of them might affect the image of the self the speaker wants to project to the external world. In other words, the 'fear of ridicule' may keep a speaker from using emotion terms (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002: 297).

Another series of studies have demonstrated that emotion terms are represented and processed differently from both concrete and abstract words (Altarriba, 2006; Altarriba & Bauer, 2004). Altarriba & al. (1999) focused on rating for context availability (intended to mean the ease to retrieve or construct, based on information in memory) concreteness and imaginary scales of abstract (p. 578). In a study conducted on Spanish-English participants (Altarriba, 2003), bilinguals provided equal ratings for L1 emotion and abstract words in terms of imaginary and context availability. These ratings suggested that concrete, abstract and emotion words could be represented similarly in bilingual lexicon, but, at the same time, L1 emotion words were more promptly visualised and contextualised than correspondent L2 words. In a latter study, Altarriba and Canary (2004) analysed affecting priming in the lexicon of monolingual English speakers and Spanish-English bilinguals, discovering that significant affective priming was much less pronounced on bilinguals. The authors speculated that bilinguals' reaction times might be less inclined to arousal dimensions in the L2. To sum up, these studies suggest that emotion words seem to have additional

components that differ from abstract and concrete words in terms of concreteness and context availability. As a result, emotion words are generally processed and recalled differently from abstract and concrete words in mental lexicon. This difference is mirrored and amplified in bilingual lexicon (Pavlenko, 2008: 149).

Considering emotion perception, Wierzbicka (1999) claims that whether two feelings are interpreted as two different instances of the same emotion, or rather as two different emotions, largely depends on the language with which these feelings are interpreted and maybe even just expressed. The range of interpretations thus depends on culture. In several other investigations informants have been found to react differently to the same elicitation, depending on the language they were operating in (Koven, 1998; Panayiotou, 2004, 2006; Stepanova, Sachs & Coley 2006). Some studies regarding this matter have been conducted by using short stories or films in order to elicit participants' reactions. Stepanova Sachs and Coley (2002, 2006) observed a clear conceptual shift in Russian-English bilinguals in comparison to Russian English-learners. They relied on an experimental group of Russian-English bilinguals and two English and Russian monolingual control groups. The authors focused on differences in the mapping of the concepts of 'envy' and 'jealousy' in both languages. Specifically, Russian language counts two different terms to refer to the emotion of jealousy and the emotion of envy; in English the word 'jealous' might be discretionarily applied to connote either jealousy or envy. Participants had to pick a word in between 'jealousy' and 'envy' in order to describe a story. Russian monolinguals chose the most appropriate term

while English monolinguals considered the words 'envious' and 'jealous' as equally appropriate for describing the emotions of the characters involved in the stories. Bilinguals were both tested in English and Russian in different instances and the test revealed that they behaved like Russian monolinguals in Russian and they responded like English monolinguals when tested in English. The authors concluded that bilinguals' familiarity with emotion terms in both languages alters their conceptual representation of these emotions. This conclusion is in line with Dewaele and Pavlenko's (2002) study proving how L2 socialisation could enlarge and change emotion concepts.

II.4.2.3. The Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire

A number of significant studies concerning the emotion expression of multilingual and multicultural individuals emerged from the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (BEQ), a massive data collection conducted by Dewaele & Pavlenko (2001-2003), which counted more than 1500 informants (Dewaele, 2010a). The study rested on the assumption that language choice for the expression of emotion was shaped by a wide variety of elements, such as language status, culture, situations or individual aspects (Dewaele, 2011). The BEQ considered the following variables (where LX could range from L2 up to L5 according to a chronological onset): age and context of acquisition of the LX, frequency of use of the LX, degree of socialisation in the LX, nature of the network of interlocutors in the LX, self-perceived language dominance, self-perceived LX proficiency, and biographical elements (age, gender, education). Results indicated that, despite the chronology of language acquisition having a strong effect on self-

perceptions and emotion expression, informants' L1 (having a higher status compared to all other languages learned later in life) was still the preferred one to express intimate feelings and to perform cognitive operations. L1 seemed to affect informants' perceptions even when frequency of use and proficiency in other languages were quite advanced.

Dewaele (2007) looked at multilinguals' language choice for mental calculation, analysing 454 individuals from a variety of linguistic, social and ethnic backgrounds. Mental calculation is considered a complex cognitive operation involving linguistic and non-linguistic processes. The researcher found that frequency of use, self-perceived proficiency in writing and perceived usefulness of the language, language socialisation, individuals' anxiety level, context and age of acquisition all explained the variance in LXs use for mental calculation.

Dewaele (2010a) looked at the perceptions that 485 pentalinguals taken from the BEQ had of their five languages. He found a gradual decline in terms of values from the L1 to the L5 for perceived usefulness, colourfulness, richness, poetic character and emotionality. In particular, age of onset of an LX predicted its usefulness, colourfulness, richness, poetic character and emotionality, where individuals with an early age of onset perceived the language under examination as having higher values on all dimensions compared to participants who had acquired that language later in life. Frequency of use was also positively linked with scores on various dimensions (Dewaele, 2010a, 2012). Findings from the BEQ suggested that emotional speech acts happen most frequently in the multilinguals' dominant language, which was generally the L1. On the other hand, some participants

reported using other languages to express emotion depending on their communicative intentions. Informants who had learned an LX in instructed settings but had also used that language in authentic interactions and participants who reported a lower age of acquisition tended to use that language more frequently for swearing, expressing anger or love. Moreover, the general frequency of use of a language showed a highly significant positive correlation with language choice for swearing, expressing anger or love in all languages (Dewaele, 2010a). An analysis of perceived emotional force behind taboo and swear words in the multilinguals' different languages revealed similar patterns (Dewaele 2004, 2011). L1 swear and taboo words were rated much stronger in emotional force than those in other languages learned later in life. Participants who had learned a language only through instructed context gave lower ratings on emotional force of swear words in that language than participants who had learned it in a naturalistic or mixed environment. High proficiency levels and frequency of use of a language were linked with more emotional force behind taboo words as well. Dewaele (2006) uncovered similar patterns for language choice for the expression of anger. Mixed learners and early starters used LXs more frequently to express anger than those who started learning that language at an older age. A similar link emerged with LX self-proficiency scores.

In another study, Dewaele (2008) examined multilinguals' perception of the emotional weight of the phrase 'I love you' in different languages, still using the database on bilingualism and emotions created by the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003). Findings revealed that multilinguals typically perceived the phrase 'I love you' as having more emotional weight in

their L1, while few of them perceived it as stronger in the LX. Participants showed a strong awareness of subtle differences in the emotional weight of their different languages and many linked it to socio-pragmatic and sociocultural aspects. Statistical analyses showed that the perception of the phrase 'I love you' was not affected by socio-biographical variables such as gender and education or by the trait 'Emotional Intelligence', but that it was associated with the LX learning history, use, context and age of acquisition and self-perceived competence, as well as a prolonged period of socialization in the LX. Indeed, Dewaele considered that the increased emotional weight assigned to the phrase 'I love you' in an LX could be seen as an indication of a conceptual shift towards the LX for this particular emotion script.

From Dewaele's (2011) selection and analysis of 386 multi-linguals from the BEQ who reported to be equally proficient in their L1 and L2 and use both languages constantly, it appeared that participants still preferred their L1 for communicating feelings, swearing, addressing their children, performing arithmetic calculations or for their inner speech. Informants' L1 was once again perceived to be emotionally stronger than the L2 and participants reported lower levels of communicative anxiety in it. The qualitative analysis of the *Multilingual Lives* corpus, where participants were interviewed on the topics covered by the BEQ, confirmed previous findings that longer immersion in the L2 culture was linked to a gradual shift in linguistic practices and perceptions where the L2 started to match the L1 in multilinguals' hearts and minds, a finding later further confirmed by Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013). Participants who had strongly socialised into their L2 culture reported local linguistic practices (including swearing, or other

emotion patterns). Hence, despite the emotional force mismatch, swearwords in L2 "[...] evolved from being funny words without emotional connotation, to proper swearwords, ready to be used" (Dewaele 2010a: 210).

Dewaele (2015) analysed the feedback from 1454 adult multilinguals (up to 5 languages) that filled out the BEQ on their language preferences for inner speech and for emotional inner speech. Participants reported using the L1 most frequently for inner speech and even more so for emotional inner speech. However, a quantitative analysis revealed that the use of the L1 and various LXs for inner speech and emotional inner speech showed that self-perceived proficiency, general use and socialisation were linked to a more frequent use of the language for inner speech and emotional inner speech. Naturalistic or mixed context of acquisition, a higher perceived emotionality and lower age of onset also increased the use of the language for inner speech and emotional inner speech. The shift towards increased use of an LX for inner emotional speech was thus interpreted as a sign of conceptual restructuring and of increasing LX embodiment. Relevant to the present research is Dewaele's conclusion (2015) that for those participants who had a chance to acculturate into the LX culture, the new language had evolved from an obscure echo of social interactions to a language of the heart.

Following the steps of the BEQ, Ożańska-Ponikwia (2012, 2013, 2017) examined the relationship between immersion in L2 language and culture – measured by means of length of stay and self-perceived L2 proficiency – and the perception and expression of emotion in L1 and L2. Specifically, she identified some factors that might play a role in this process, such as socio-biographical data, intensity of socialisation, personality characteristics

(Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012) and Emotional Intelligence. Participants were 137 respondents with Polish as L1 and English as L2, divided into two groups: a control group, consisting of 35 participants that had never lived in an English-speaking country, and an immersion group of 102 informants who experienced living in a country where the local language is English. Findings confirmed that the length of stay in the host culture does not affect the expression of emotions in L2, but negatively impacted on the use of the L1 for expressing emotions, without thus implying using the L2 as a substitute. High levels of self-perceived L2 proficiency, L2 frequency of use and dominance were linked to frequent emotion expression in L2. Qualitative data confirmed the findings. Many respondents indicated stressful situations as the most common category of perceived difficulty. 'Openness' and 'Self-esteem' emerged as predictors of the frequency of use of the L2 and 'Openness' was the best predictor of self-perceived L2 proficiency (Ożańska-Ponikwia and Dewaele, 2012). Results thus indicated that not only the immersion in an L2 country but also personality inclinations, such as migrants' craving for social interactions, determined progress in the L2. These findings also supported Dewaele's (2010a) observation that multilinguals that are aware of non-equivalence of emotion terms and have low L2 proficiency, with gaps in L2 prototypical scripts, will often code-switch to the L1. Furthermore, statistical analyses reveal that personality traits such as 'Extraversion', 'Agreeableness' and 'Openness' had an effect on self-perceived changes in behaviour or body language and occurred while an LX was used (2012). A similar effect was found for EI factors, namely 'Emotion expression', 'Empathy', 'Social awareness', 'Emotion perception', 'Emotion management', 'Emotionality' and 'Sociability'. The author

speculated that the existence of self-reported personality changes could depend on certain personality traits and EI. Personality was thus believed to enable such subtle changes to be noticed (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012: 217) In a follow-up study, Ożańska-Ponikwia (2017) specifically focused on the perception of the sentence 'I love you'. The selected informants of the research were 72 Polish–English bilinguals living in England and Ireland from 1 to 324 months. Data analysis discussed emotional expression in the L2 as well as perception of such emotional statements as 'I love you' and its Polish equivalent. Results showed that even though the emotionality of the phrase 'I love you' was stronger in participants' L1, perception of its emotionality in the L2 increased with the length of stay in an English-speaking country, self-perceived L2 proficiency and frequency of the L2 use. At the same time, statistical analysis confirmed that the strongest predictors of the emotional expression in the L2 were factors such as socialisation into L2 culture and the degree of L2 use, accounting for almost 55% of the variance (p. 9). Hence, socialisation within the host country might be one of the key factors determining the growing emotionality of the local language and a consequent increase of its use for expressing emotions.

A more recent large-scale BEQ study by Dewaele and Salomidou (2017) investigated whether language and cultural differences within cross-cultural couples made emotional communication more difficult. A third of participants claimed no difficulty and half of participants mentioned limitations in the Foreign Language (LX) as well as a lack of emotional resonance of the LX. A minority reported experiencing a lack of genuineness at the start of the relationship, which faded in months for more than three

quarters of participants. Longer relationships led to affective socialisation in the LX and the partner's language often became a highly emotional language. The speed and depth of this affective socialisation in the LX was linked to personality traits and gender. Specifically, female participants reported more difficulties in communicating emotions and feeling less authentic at the start of the relationship and respondents who scored higher on 'Social Initiative' and 'Openmindedness', and lower on 'Flexibility' were more likely to agree that their partners' language had become their language of the heart (p. 127). Qualitative data revealed a wide variety of views, with over half of the participants mentioning the constraints of the LX while a quarter reported emotional liberation in the LX.

Research on emotions showed how languages, cultures and personality contribute to the development of one's unique emotion *repertoire* and highlighted the complexity of analysing emotions in cross-cultural social interactions. The following section will focus on multilinguals' self-perceptions, introducing the idea of having 'different selves in different languages'.

II.5. Multiple selves in multiple languages: "A voice from elsewhere"[6]

II.5.1. Different languages, different words, different selves

Wierzbicka (1992, 1999) states that the meanings of words from different languages reflect ways of living and thinking particular to a given

[6] Pavlenko (2006: 28)

society and constitute crucial clues for understanding underlying cultural practices. She claims that the interpretation of feelings largely depends on culture and more peculiarly on the language in which they are expressed.

> "Since the way we think about what happens to us is an integral part of the experience, the emotions associated with these different interpretations may also be different" (1999: 95)

The idea is not only of projecting a different personality but also of "becoming a different person" (Wierzbicka, 2004: 99) when operating in an LX. Several studies concluded that the majority of multilinguals perceive changes in behaviour and personality when switching languages (Hull, 1990; Pavlenko, 2006; Wilson, 2008):

> "Some multilinguals report that their personalities can switch dramatically and rapidly with changes in languages. These changes are often readily observable by others. This is a curious phenomenon, especially because it involves the same person thinking, feeling, and acting differently when speaking different languages" (Matsumoto & Assar, 1992: 88)

Pavlenko (2001, 2006) suggested that different languages create different words for their speakers who might consequently feel that their selves change with the shift to a different language. These assumptions are confirmed by autobiographical insights of several writers like Besemeres (2002, 2004), Hoffman (1989), Parks (1996), Wierzbicka (1997, 1999) and Zhengdao Ye (2003). Their narratives indicated that different languages give a distinctive shape to a speaker's feeling (Besemeres, 2004:156) and all authors discussed the theme of multiple identities while operating in an LX. Hoffman (1989) in her classic autobiography *Lost in Translation* narrated about her migration from Poland to the States and described her gradually becoming 'English':

> "My mother says I'm becoming 'English.' This hurts me, because I know she means I'm becoming cold. I'm no colder than I've ever been, but I'm learning to be less demonstrative" (p. 146).

She vividly captures the effect of language and culture on herself and her perspective, providing a great example of 'identity transformation', due to her immersion in a foreign culture. Zhengdao Ye (2003) left her parents and her home country, China, for the first time when she went to study Linguistics in Australia and live with her Australian husband. In her essay picturing her life in the new country, she explains that in some situations she remained Chinese, whereas in situations involving social interactions, she has gradually changed under the pressure of LX practice. Specifically, she describes how difficult it is for her to express love and affection as, according to her, heritage traits, strong bonds and feelings are beyond words and are generally kept within. She explains that her inner self remained Chinese and she never cried when departing from her parents for this reason: "I know that, emotionally, I will remain Chinese" (Ye, 2003; cf. Pavlenko, 2006: 53). Yet, she describes her surprise when, flying back to China on the occasion of her father's funeral and feeling a deep regret for having never hugged him, she decided to give her mother a long embrace. Similarly, Parks, an Englishman in Italy, pictures himself as changing under the influence of the culture he lives in (1996). In his autobiography, he chronicles his introduction into Italian society and cultural life in a small village near Verona. What strikes him the most are the physical shows of affection but also the extended use of diminutives, something crucial in the education of his young daughter:

> "It must be one of the areas where Italian most excels: the cooing excited caress over the tiny creature, *uccellino*, *tartarughina*... Little birdie, little turtle" (1996:68)

The common point of reference in all these narratives is the difference in both the lexical and mental representation of words. All authors claim to feel different when operating in an LX and describe a gradual change in their behaviour, in the way they regulate their emotional responses and in their personality, caused by the immersion in a new culture. It thus seems that language could potentially influence personality, causing self-perceived changes in it (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013). However, all possible changes seem to take place only in a language and culture contact situation; in other words, when individuals are exposed to different languages and cultures simultaneously (Wierzbicka, 2004; Pavlenko, 2005). It must be said that few studies considered this sense of feeling different when switching languages as necessarily implying an effective variation on personality (Ramírez-Esparza & al., 2006; Veltkamp & al., 2013). Mostly, multilinguals' sense of alienation when switching languages has been considered a question of self-perception and social awareness rather than a real development of multiple personalities (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013).

II.5.2 Research on the sense of Feeling Different when switching languages

II.5.2.1 Cultural Frame Switching

The systematic choice of a particular language in different contexts can lead bilinguals to a 'multiple selves syndrome' (Wierzbicka, 2004). A pioneer in this field is Koven (1998, 2001, 2002) who first produced evidence for the so-called phenomenon of 'cultural frame switching' by eliciting stories from personal experiences of two French-Portuguese bilinguals. The informants were asked to tell the same story in both languages to different people and

were subsequently interviewed about the experience of the story and the test itself. Koven looked at how the two participants presented themselves, and she also analysed their own impressions and those of the listeners ones. The author found that both bilinguals performed quite differently, according to the language in use, resulting in two completely different characters. Findings therefore suggested that different languages allowed speakers to "perform a variety of cultural selves" (Koven, 2001:513) through a variety of interlocutory tendencies, communicative strategies, discursive forms and styles. Specifically, Koven focused on the performance of Linda, a French-Portuguese bilingual, resettled in France at a very young age, who was asked to tell twelve stories about bad experiences, once in Portuguese and once in French, to another Portuguese-French bilingual (Koven, 1998, 2006). Her accounts were recorded and analysed. Five other bilinguals commented on the recordings of each story, and findings showed that she was "angrier, and much more aggressive in French" (Koven, 2006: 107). Koven explains that: "Linda may not be free to perform an aggressive persona in Portuguese" (Koven, 2006:108).

Similarly, Panayiotou (2004) investigated Greek-English and English-Greek bilinguals' reactions to a story, presented in both languages, about a young professional who neglected his girlfriend and his elderly mother because of work pressure and career ambitions. When participants were asked to comment on the story, they were found to express different judgements according to the language in use. Bilinguals were thus reacting differently depending on the language used. The two versions of the story elicited not only different reactions, but also different cultural scripts,

suggesting that the two languages used were linked to distinct linguistic and emotional repertoires. Panayiotou (2004) concluded that informants' outcomes differed according to the linguistic and cultural frames they were using.

II.5.2.2 Bilingualism as "linguistic schizophrenia"[7]?

One of the most important contributions to the present field of research comes from Pavlenko (2006), who used the feedback of 1039 bi- and multilinguals from the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003) to analyse whether they feel like different persons when switching languages. She discovered that almost two thirds of participants offered an affirmative answer to the question and the analysis of responses showed that participants jokingly used the discourse of bilingualism as 'linguistic schizophrenia': "It was mostly in the form of a voice from 'elsewhere' that is being mocked and resisted" (2006: 28). Pavlenko speculated that multilinguals might have felt more authentic in their L1, since it was the language in which they were most proficient and the one considered more emotional (Pavlenko, 2006; Dewaele, 2010; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013). However, the perception of different selves was not restricted to late or migrant bilinguals: "it is a more general part of bilingual and multilingual experience" (Pavlenko, 2006: 27). Recalling Grosjean's (1982) idea that bilinguals are not two monolinguals in one person, Pavlenko concluded that bi- and multilinguals are not like single monolinguals either (Dewaele, 2016a), highlighting that most of them sense a shift in personality and might consider the experience of multilingualism "as

[7] Pavlenko (2006: 28)

a source of both anguish and creative enrichment" (2006: 5). She explains that some multilinguals:

> "[...] may perceive the world differently, and change perspectives, ways of thinking, and verbal and non-verbal behaviours when switching language [...] feel that they inhabit distinct and at times incommensurable lifeworlds and experience pain and anguish over this condition. Yet this is not an aberration on their part but a part of what makes us human" (p. 29)

Thus, most participants answered that they felt more real and natural in their L1 and fake or artificial in any language learned later in life, especially in emotionally charged circumstances (Pavlenko, 2005; Dewaele, 2010). Dewaele and Nakano (2013) investigated these aspects further. Their examination of 106 respondents, speaking up to four languages, revealed a systematic shift in how multilinguals feel in their LXs. Using pairwise comparisons, the authors found that participants felt progressively less logical, serious or emotional and increasingly fake when using an LX acquired later in life. Multilinguals were thus able to provide more reliable insights and depicted a clear connection between their sense of feeling different and their emotional perceptions. Without surprise, the gradual decline in values on the various scales for languages acquired later in life mirrored the perceptions that pentalinguals had of their languages (Dewaele 2010a). The authors speculated that the perceptions of the languages might be transferred to the perception that a person has of themselves when using that language. The switch to a language perceived to be more colourful, rich, poetic and emotional seems to make the pentalinguals feel more colourful, rich, poetic and emotional (p. 11). On the other hand, gender, age and education levels were found to be unrelated to scores on the five scales in all languages. This study showed that the chronology of acquisition of languages

affected how participants felt when using these languages. Yet, the authors stated that a large amount of variance remained unexplained, arguing that language use is confounded by various contextual factors that could be worth examining, such as personality traits.

Following this thread of research, Hammer (2016) investigated the perception of 'being yourself ' – intended in opposition to the common feeling of 'feeling fake' (Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Pavlenko, 2006) – when speaking in the L2. Her research focused on migrants; the participants were 149 Polish individuals, L2 speakers of English, living in ESC (UK, USA, Ireland, Canada, Australia). The independent variables in this research were: acculturation level, social network profile (calculated by eliciting information about the participants' network of relationships), language of attachment in adulthood (calculated by eliciting data on language use with most intimate contacts), language dominance, length of residence, predicted future domicile, gender, and age of acquisition (AoA). Findings revealed that sociocultural and psychological integration into the L2 society and culture were strongly linked to migrants' perception of 'being yourself' in the L2. This study was the first to add acculturation and language attachment perspectives to the field of research investigating the perception of feeling different when using languages learnt later in life. Hammer's (2016) results indicated that bilinguals who engaged with the host culture, seeking friendships with their L2-speaking peers and getting acculturated and perceiving the L2 as their dominant language, were more likely to feel like themselves when speaking L2.

Recent research on the field revealed that multilinguals who reported feeling anxious when using an LX also tended to feel different when switching languages (Dewaele, 2016a). The analysis was conducted on 1005 bi- and multilinguals – extracted from the BEQ – and enquired about anxiety level, age and context of acquisition, LX frequency of use (FoU) and self-reported proficiency of the LX, examining their connection to the sense of feeling different when switching languages. While qualitative analysis revealed that limited proficiency in the LX might be somehow related to participants' sense of feeling different, no statistically significant relation emerged between the sense of difference experienced when shifting languages and self-reported proficiency in the LX. Similar statistical results emerged in terms of LX FoU. The only variables that appeared to be linked to informants' sense of feeling different when switching languages were age, education level and anxiety when speaking with colleagues or over the phone. More specifically, the effects of anxiety were mainly visible and progressively stronger with L2 and L3 use. Besides statistical findings, the study revealed rich and varied qualitative insights, showing that perceptions might change over time, differ between switches to specific languages, differ in terms of non-verbal behaviour and body language beyond linguistic aspects and that can be the result of conscious or unconscious behaviour:

> "Some participants presented unique explanations, linking feelings of difference to conscious or unconscious shifts in behaviour and to unique contexts of language use. Several participants also reported these feelings of difference to change over time" (2016a: 92)

Another study by Mijatović and Tytus (2016) investigated the reasons behind this feeling of difference by examining other contextual factors. The

authors considered the effects of biculturalism and personality traits[8] as well as introspective data from a total of 88 German–English bilinguals. Only a third of all participants indicated feeling different when using their different languages and the analyses revealed no significant effects of biculturalism. However, qualitative data suggested that four main categories played a vital role in giving rise to this feeling, namely cultural differences, language proficiency, the opportunity to liberate from the L1 personality, and changes in personality due to reactions of interlocutors. The role of culture seemed to accompany language switching. The authors argued that that being in the county where the language was spoken made it easier for people to recognise distinct cultural values and act accordingly, consequently reporting feeling more different when speaking the language. These results showed how the highly diverse nature of bilingualism, personality, and culture could produce data that does not allow for a single or exclusive interpretation.

Finally, Panicacci and Dewaele (2017a), in a piece of research based on the present sample of 468 Italian migrants living in ESC (UK, Ireland, US and Canada), found that participants' sense of feeling different when using English (the LX) to discuss different matters was reduced by their sense of belonging to LX culture. Qualitative insight also provided further explanations, linking migrants' sense of feeling different to cultural factors and emotional attitudes. Indeed, migrants claimed to feel mostly different when talking with less familiar interlocutors or about emotional matters (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017b).

[8] Personality trait results will be discussed in the following session (II.5.2.3.)

II.5.2.3 Feeling different and Personality

A pioneering study in the field of personality and bilingualism is Wilson (2008, 2013), who researched individuals' self-perceptions when operating in a LX with reference to specific personality traits, blending a selection of statements reflecting the key themes of the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003) together with the Big Five personality test (IPIP) (McCrae & al., 2000) described in section II.2.2.1. of the present chapter. The researcher carried out a two-stage investigation, using the feedback from 1414 participants –extracted from the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003)- about self-perceptions when using a different language. Nearly half of the participants answered 'yes' to the question, 16% gave a 'qualified yes', 6% gave a 'qualified no' and 29% answered a straight 'no', while the remaining answers were ambiguous. Statistical analysis showed that female and highly educated participants were more likely to report feeling different when using different languages. An analysis of the corpus revealed a highly frequent use of the adjective 'more'. It was used repeatedly with themes such as control/lack of control (19%), 'Emotionality' (14%), and 'Intellect' (22%). Most respondents reported that the LX had a positive, even exciting effect on their feeling and behaviour. In the second stage, Wilson used a questionnaire reflecting the key themes of the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003), administered together with the Big Five personality test. Wilson's investigation into 172 British adult LX users revealed that a number of independent variables, including personality traits, perceived proficiency, age and type of onset could influence how individuals feel about LX use (2008). Specifically, results showed that individuals with lower levels of education

and age of acquisition were more likely to feel different. Furthermore, a negative correlation between the trait 'Extraversion' and the sense of feeling different when using any LX emerged in participants rating their proficiency as intermediate or above. She explained that more introverted individuals were more likely to affirm that operating in an LX releases them "from their inhibitions" (Wilson, 2008: 153-154), giving them a sense of freedom:

> "A foreign language can give shy people a mask to hide behind even at fairly modest levels of proficiency" (Wilson, 2013:8)

Following this line of research, Ożańska-Ponikwia (2012, 2013) investigated the link between bilinguals' sense of feeling different when switching languages and various personality factors. As mentioned earlier, her research combines the BEQ with a short version of the Big Five personality test and EI Questionnaire (TEIQue) (Petrides & Furnham, 2003). Data gathered from 102 Polish migrants revealed that the expression of emotions in L1 (Polish) and L2 (English) was linked to different self-perceptions. Gender and several personality traits, namely 'Extraversion', 'Openness' and 'Conscientiousness' as well as EI traits of 'Emotionality', 'Sociability', 'Emotion management', 'Emotion perception', 'Social awareness', 'Empathy' and 'Emotion expression' were linked to the sense of feeling different while operating in the L2. In this perspective, socially and emotionally skilled participants appeared to notice subtle changes in their personality and behaviour while using the L2. Ożańska-Ponikwia speculated that more extraverted people tended to actively participate in social interactions, gaining more opportunities to engage with the L2 community (2012). Consequently, their higher sociolinguistic competence, self-confidence and social awareness could more accurately

address subtle changes in their personality. This complex relationship may explain why some people report finding it difficult to express emotions or to notice personality changes when using the L2 while others feel no change (2012). Her qualitative data analysis indicated that informants' confirmed the expression of emotions felt most natural and accurate in their L1, recalling previous findings (Pavlenko, 2005, 2006; Dewaele, 2010a, Dewaele & Nakano, 2012).

Recent studies showed that the sense of feeling different when using an LX is related to other personality aspects. Mijatović and Tytus (2016) indicated high levels of 'Agreeableness' as having an effect on participants' sense of feeling different when switching languages. The authors argued that agreeable people could be seen as striving for harmony in interactions and relations and open to compromise:

> "Following this reasoning, when talking to somebody in a different language and seeing an incongruence, be it culturally or linguistically, those participants would detect this more readily than others. Perhaps, more importantly, they would more readily change their behaviour in order to even out differences or to please their communication partners" (p. 9)

Panicacci & Dewaele (2017a) in a study based on the same sample used for the present research provided evidence that low scores on Emotional Stability increased migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX. The authors speculated that a low score on this scale could also be generally interpreted as the incapability to convey emotional reactions which are appropriate to the situation. This interpretation could in fact explain why participants frequently mentioned the sense of emotional constraint when using the LX.

Summarising all studies, the main finding which emerges is the dynamic and complex nature of the relationship between the sense of feeling different when switching languages and personality. The following section will focus on language dominance, the last factor taken into consideration in the present study.

II.6. On language dominance

II.6.1. What is language dominance?

> "The construct of dominance in the bilingual context covers many dimensions of language use and experience. Proficiency, fluency, ease of processing, 'thinking in a language', cultural identification, frequency of use and so forth are among the notions associated with this construct" (Gertken, Amengual & Birdsong, 2014:208)

Different kinds of research have explored language dominance influence on personality, behaviour, cognitive operations, emotions, cross-linguistic transfer, code-switching, language choice for inner speech and also bi-multilinguals' self-perceptions in terms of richness, colourfulness or poetic character of the known languages (Altarriba, 2007; Dewaele, 2004c, 2007, 2010a; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). Several definitions of language dominance have been proposed, providing different views of the concept itself. For the purpose of this dissertation, language dominance will be considered as referring to:

> "[...] which language is generally most accessible in day-to-day life [...] most highly activated and can be the default language for speaking and thinking" (Harris & al., 2006: 264)

Hence, in order to describe language dominance, researchers mainly relied on both psychological aspects (for example, attitudes) (Dewaele, 2004c), and

linguistic aspects (such as use and proficiency. Language dominance may seem to overlap with the concept of language proficiency but it is important to note that proficiency alone does not equate to dominance, even if they are often assessed in the same way. Indeed, in linguistic research on bilingualism, language dominance is mostly assessed via self-evaluations, which may vary a lot from survey to survey. Language proficiency and language dominance are often correlated (Birdsong, 2006) and often the former might be also used to assess the latter. However, some researchers stressed how dominance is a conceptually different construct, naturally emerging from the nature of bilingualism, while proficiency is not (Grosjean, 1998). Hence, language dominance is a relativistic construct as it involves the relationships between competences in at least two languages, without necessarily entailing bilinguals being dominant in any of the two (Gertken, Amengual & Birdsong, 2014). Independently of proficiency, language dominance "may shift within a bilingual's lifetime" (Gertken, Amengual & Birdsong, 2014: 211), without being a dichotomous concept (Grosjean, 2001, 2002) and it may relatively change over time (Harris & al., 2006).

Language dominance was found to be of crucial importance in emotional perception in bilinguals and also closely related to language emotionality. Generally, L2-dominant bilinguals were found not to perceive L1 as more emotional than L2 (Harris 2004). Pavlenko (2013) suggested that language dominance mediates language emotionality, so that LX users who underwent secondary affective socialisation may perceive an increase in the emotionality of the LX (Pavlenko 2013: 17; Pavlenko, 2014). Indeed, Harris confirms: "language is experienced as emotional when it is acquired and used

in an emotional context" (2004: 276-277). It is therefore the emotional context behind the language that populates migrants' representation with emotionality. In other words, "emotional contexts are what fill words of any language, once devoid of emotion, with emotion" (Hammer, 2016: 258). According to this perspective, language dominance might move along with language emotionality and be closely dependent on the social and emotional context where the said language is used (Hammer, 2016; Harris, 2004).

II.6.2. Previous research on Language Dominance

II.6.2.1. Language Dominance and Emotions

Dewaele (2004c) conducted a study on self-perceived language dominance and language preferences for emotional speech, using feedback from participants who filled in the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003). He concluded that language dominance has a significant effect on frequency of use of the L1 for expression of feelings, anger and swearing to different interlocutors and also on L1 use for inner speech. One of the most interesting findings was that the mere presence of a second dominant language was linked to a slight decrease in self-reported proficiency in the L1. As frequency of use of the L1 diminishes, so does the perception of usefulness, colourfulness, richness, poetic and emotional character of the L1. However, while language dominance appeared to affect L1 perception, statistical data and multilinguals' narratives confirmed that L1 emotional weight and poetic character remained solid. The attrited L1 thus still retains powerful emotional connotations, which Dewaele explained by referring to the system of emotional arousal established in early childhood (Harris & al., 2003). According to this perspective, where LX is dominant, the L1 is depicted as a

dormant powerful language that lacks accessibility and exposure but maintains an intact emotional supremacy (Dewaele, 2004c).

In the study examining multilinguals' perception of the emotional weight of the phrase 'I love you' in their different languages, findings revealed that nearly half of participants reported feeling that the sentence had the greatest emotional weight in their L1, offering various explanations for their perceptions (Dewaele, 2008). Participants' reports were coded as following: it being strongest in the L1, equal in the L1 and an LX or strongest in an LX. Statistical analysis revealed that the perception of the emotional weight of the phrase 'I love you' was associated with self-reported language dominance, context of acquisition of the LX, LX degree of socialisation, LX categories of interlocutors and LX self-perceived oral proficiency. Thus, language dominance turned out to have a strong effect on participants' perceptions of the sentence. The author interpreted high levels of self-perceived LX dominance as a strong socialisation in the LX, which implies frequent use of the LX over a prolonged period with multiple interlocutors and a high LX proficiency, all aspects that most likely enhanced individuals' familiarity with this particular emotion script. In other words, this study showed that having a complete semantic understanding of the phrase 'I love you' and the capability to react to it could be considered as an ultimate acquisition: "The final 'frontier' is only crossed when that phrase has made you shiver or cry"(p.21). At that point, the researcher argued, that sentence had acquired an emotional weight of its own, which could be equal or surpass the emotionality evoked by the same sentence in the L1. In this perspective, the amount of authentic interaction and socialisation with LX speakers was at

such high levels that participants perceived the LX as highly dominant in their life.

Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) investigated the link between language dominance and several aspects involving migration and emotions. Recalling Dewaele's study (2007) about language choice for mental calculation and other relevant BEQ themes (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003)[9], she analysed her 102 bilingual participants' language dominance, considering their answers to a group of questions enquiring about the language mostly used for some cognitive operations, like dreaming, counting and inner speech. Findings indicated that participants' length of stay in the L2 country correlated negatively with L1 dominance dimension and positively with L2 dominance dimension. She concluded that the permanence in the L2 country affected migrants' linguistic attitudes, orienting them towards a higher L2 use in order to perform cognitive operations. Language dominance was also related to language proficiency, indicating that a high command of the L2 enabled participants to use the L2 for such purposes as talking to oneself, dreaming, counting, and considering it a dominant language. The author speculated that, in those participants who were undergoing an affective socialisation process in the L2 and perceived the L2 as more dominant, the perception of L1 emotions would take place through L2 cultural and emotional scripts, thus explaining how L2 culture and language could have an impact on perception of L1 emotions. These findings are also presented in her study (2017) analysing the perception of the sentence 'I love you', based on a selected sample of the previous research (Cf. section II.4.2.4.)

[9] All these studies where mentioned in session II.4.2.

Finally, a recent contribution to this field of research comes from Hammer (2015). She analysed the case of 149 migrants (L1 Polish, L2 English) who relocated to the UK in early adulthood and have been resident there for several years. Looking at self-reported language dominance and self-perceived acculturation level, she found the former to be a directly connected to the latter. Both statistical analysis and migrants' stories revealed that embracing an LX and instilling it in daily life is a sign of a deep understanding of the culture that produces it (Hammer, 2015)

II.6.2.2. Language Dominance and Personality

One of the first studies that researched the relationship between language dominance and higher order personality traits was conducted by Dewaele & van Oudenhoven (2009). Participants were a group of 79 young London teenagers, where half of them were born abroad and had settled down in London during their childhood. Statistical analyses revealed that language dominance had a significant effect on participants' personality profiles. The multidominant group [10] scored significantly higher on 'Openmindedness', marginally higher on 'Cultural Empathy' and significantly lower on 'Emotional Stability' than participants dominant in a single language. The number of languages known by participants was also significantly linked to their personality profile, with functional multilinguals scoring significantly higher than incipient bilinguals[11] on 'Openmindedness',

[10] Group of participants that reported to be dominant in more than one language

[11] The authors labeled 'incipient bilinguals' all monolinguals that were in the process of learning a LX and were not yet using the language outside the classroom. On the contrary, 'functional multilinguals' referred to all participants that reported knowledge of more than two languages (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009: 10)

marginally higher on 'Cultural Empathy' and significantly lower on 'Emotional Stability'. Despite not having any information about the length of stay of participants in the host country, Dewaele and van Oudenhoven concluded that exposure to different languages and cultures had effects on personality profiles. They speculated that the fact that some participants were no longer dominant in their L1, but were now dominant in an LX, could correspond to complete acculturation into host society concomitant with a certain amount of 'deculturation' in the L1 language and culture (Kim, 2001), while the group of 'multidominant' occupies a middle position, having acculturated into the host culture while retaining their L1 roots. In this perspective, Dewaele and van Oudenhoven related language dominance to acculturation:

> "The language dominance measure provides the vital link to solve the puzzle: it is the process of linguistic and cultural acculturation that is stressful. But this experience has obvious benefits: Openmindedness and, to a lesser degree, Cultural Empathy are reinforced by the experience of fitting in" (2009:15)

Dewaele and Stavans (2014) explored the link between multilingualism and personality profiles of 193 Israeli residents. Results indicated that foreign-born participants who had become dominant in Hebrew (LX) scored lower on 'Emotional Stability' compared to Hebrew native speakers, supporting Dewaele and van Oudenhoven's findings (2009). The authors explained that language dominance could give an indication of the cultural and linguistic changes that participants had undergone or might still be undergoing. More than half of respondents reported dominance in the L1, including both Hebrew native speakers who did not have to adapt to a new linguistic and sociocultural environment and L1 speakers of other languages "for whom

Hebrew had not (yet) become the dominant language" (p. 15). The group of multidominant participants, who reported a different L1 and Hebrew both as dominant languages, described themselves as "balanced bilinguals having acculturated into Israeli society while retaining their L1 roots" (p. 15). At the end of the continuum were foreign-born participants whose dominant language was Hebrew (LX). According to the authors, these informants had completely acculturated into Israeli society and may have experienced a certain amount of 'deculturation' and attrition in the L1 language and culture (Kim, 2001). Language dominance turned out to have a significant effect on 'Emotional Stability', with the L1-dominant participants scoring significantly higher than the LX-dominant participants on this trait. In this instance, once again the authors interpreted language dominance as a sign of acculturation into a host culture, explaining that this might leave participants less emotionally secure and stable than those who did not undergo this transformation.

Finally, another study focusing on the link between L1 and L2 dominance and both Emotional Intelligence (EI) and personality dimensions has been carried out by Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013). Results showed that only trait EI, consisting of 15 facets and four factors of broader relevance, and not the informants' personality profiles, had an effect on L2 dominance. Specifically, the L2 dominance dimension was positively related to the facet 'Adaptability'. The author hypothesised that flexibility in approaching life and seeking novelty as well as feeling comfortable in new situations determined bilinguals' acceptance of L2 as a dominant language.

II.7. Connecting previous research on Personality, Acculturation, Emotions, Language Dominance and migrants' Self-perceptions

The complex relationship between languages, cultures and personality in individuals' experience – as showed in the literature reviewed - represents the main thread of this dissertation. The present chapter showed that expression of emotions and the perception of the self could be modified by different linguistic and cultural frames (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele 2006, 2007; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Matsumoto & Assar, 1992; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, 2008; Wierzbicka, 2004), personality (Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013, 2017; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a; Wilson, 2008) and affective socialisation processes (Dewaele, 2004c, 2008, 2010a, 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013, 2017; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b). In order to understand self-perceived changes in migrants' personality profiles, emotions and cultural perspectives, it is crucial to incorporate both linguistic and psychological variables (Dewaele, 2016b; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013) as well as to consider the relationship between personality, acculturation and a LX use as quite complex and dynamic (Chen, Benet-Martínez &Bond, 2008)

This contribution therefore aims to examine the interactions between personality traits, cultural orientation, emotion expression, self-reported language dominance and self-perceived changes in migrants' experience. The literature reviewed suggests migrants' linguistic, socio-cultural and psychological attitudes are pieces of a complex puzzle, leading towards the

idea of multilingual and multicultural identities (Grosjean, 2001, 2015). While most researchers would agree that migration experiences can trigger changes across all aspects of a person's psyche and that acculturation (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000), personality (Kim, 2001), language dominance (Hammer, 2016; Harris 2006) and migrants' self-perceptions (Dewaele, 2016a) are quite dynamic in nature, there is no empirical evidence – to our knowledge – connecting all these factors in a single design. Such research is challenging because the directionality of the relationship between the variables involved may never be completely established. Dewaele (2016b) suggested that the causal pathway between psychological, affective and socio-biographical variables is bidirectional (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a); in other words, they can be both a cause and an effect. The present study aims to fill this gap, through a combination of qualitative and quantitative data, merging several research instruments.

II.7.1. The main question behind this project

The main question behind the present dissertation is whether migrants' linguistic, cultural and personal attitudes are related. In particular, this study aims to investigate how migrants' language choice for emotion expression, language dominance, self-perceptions when switching languages, cultural orientation and personality reciprocally relate to each other, considering the possibility of migrants' linguistic and cultural hybridity as explained in these two initial chapters.

According to the theoretical approaches presented in this chapter, different lines of influence will be analysed. One thread of the analysis will consider the changes in migrants' language choice for emotion expression,

language dominance and self-perceptions when switching languages. A second thread of analysis will look at changes in migrants' cultural orientations. Finally, a last thread of analysis will focus on migrants' personality changes.

The review of the literature showed that emotion expression in an LX is affected by the exposure to the relevant culture (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014; Dewaele, 2004a, 2004c, 2010; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2005, 2008; Panayiotou 2004; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Wierzbicka, 2004). In the case of migrants living in a foreign country, their interpretation of emotions and emotion *repertoire* change due to exposure to an LX (Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004; Pavlenko, 2005). Bilinguals who have social interactions with people from different cultural backgrounds become more skilled in recognising other people's facial expressions of emotions (Matsumoto & Assar, 1992). Furthermore, bilinguals who are more sociable and emotionally sensitive are also more attentive to their own behavioural changes (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013). The sense of feeling different when speaking a different language is indeed a quite common phenomenon among multilinguals and it seems to be more related to personality aspects (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013; Wilson, 2008, 2013) than proficiency level (Dewaele, 2016a). Indeed, personality has also been reported to affect the way people acculturate (Kim, 2001; Leong, 2007; Peltokorpi & Froese, 2011), with individuals who are more open to dealing with novelty and change and more adaptable and able to empathise with diversity usually more successful in acculturative processes. On the other hand, several studies revealed that affective socialisation, multilingualism

and multiculturalism might influence personality (Kim, 2001; Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014), as well as emotional experiences within a host society (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014; Mesquita, 2003).

The following paragraph will introduce the specific questions and hypotheses of the present research.

II.7.2. Questions and Hypotheses

The hypotheses will be based on the findings in the review of the literature. All questions consider the case of L1 speakers of Italian, LX speakers of English, living in ESC[12].

1. Can migrants' cultural orientation and personality profiles predict their language choice for expressing emotions?

Migrants' language choice for expressing emotions is expected to reflect their cultural orientation. In other words, migrants who sense a stronger attachment to the L1 culture will report frequently using the L1 for expressing emotions. On the other hand, those who feel strongly attached to LX culture and consequently appreciate and understand LX values and practices are expected to report extensive use of the LX for expressing emotions (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele, 2006, 2007, 2004a, 2008, 2010a; Hammer, 2016; Matsumoto, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele,

[12] The present research addresses Italian migrants in English-speaking countries. English is here considered as an LX, other than L1, in order to avoid any reference to the number or the chronological order of acquisition of the languages spoken by participants.

2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, 2013, 2014; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004). Considering personality aspects, it is hypothesised that all traits will show an independent set of correlates for each emotion expression variable. In other words, as postulated by Ryder, Alden and Paulhus when investigating the connection between personality traits and acculturation sub-scores (2000: 49), no personality trait will simultaneously link to both L1 and LX use for expressing emotions, displaying an inverse (positive and negative) pattern of correlations. This consideration has been developed on the assumption that languages and cultures can coexist in migrants' psyche (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; Grosjean, 2001, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al., 2010).

2. Can migrants' cultural orientation and personality predict their self-reported language dominance?

It is conjectured that migrants who feel strongly oriented towards the L1 culture, values and practices will more likely report the L1 to be a dominant language. Conversely, migrants who sense a strong sense of belonging to the LX culture will more likely consider the LX as a dominant language. Similarly, as was mentioned in the previous hypothesis, participants' personality profiles are expected to independently link to L1 and LX self-reported dominance. Once again, the expectation is that no personality trait will simultaneously display an inverse (positive and negative) pattern of correlations with L1 and LX dominance. Indeed, this hypothesis follows from the assumption that host language and culture do not replace heritage ones in migrants' minds (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos,

2005; Dewaele, 2004c; Grosjean, 2001, 2015; Hammer, 2015, 2016; Harris, 2004; Matsumoto, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al., 2010)

3. Can migrants' cultural orientation and personality predict their sense of feeling different when using the LX?

On the basis of previous research, migrants' attachment to LX is expected to constrain their sense of feeling different when using the LX (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a; Hammer, 2016). Furthermore, high scores on all traits but Emotional Stability are expected to reduce participants' sense of feeling different when using the LX. (Dewaele, 2016a; Hammer, 2016; Mijatović and Tytus, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2005; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004; Wilson, 2008)

4. Can migrants' language choice for expressing emotions and self-reported dominance predict their culture orientation?

As articulated in hypotheses 1 and 2, migrants' language choice for expressing emotions and self-reported language dominance are expected to reflect their cultural orientations. Specifically, migrants' self-reported L1 dominance and L1 use for expressing emotions with different interlocutors are expected to jointly explain variance on participants' interest in undertaking L1 traditions (Dewaele, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2015; Pavlenko, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Likewise, migrants' LX use for expressing emotions and LX dominance are expected to jointly explain variance in participants' sense of belonging to the LX culture (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Ryder, Alden &

Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al., 2010). The core of this hypothesis is that migrants' L1 dominance and L1 use for emotion expression are believed to be unrelated to their sense of belonging to the LX culture and vice versa. In this perspective, migrants could simultaneously hold on to two cultures and two languages (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Grosjean, 2001, 2015).

5. Migrants' personality profiles will predict their cultural orientation.

Personality traits are expected to display a coherent and independent set of correlates with each cultural dimension (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al. 2010). Ideally, some personality trait will increment migrants' L1 culture attachment, whereas some others will increase their sense of belonging to the LX culture (Kim, 2001; Leong, 2007; Peltokorpi & Froese, 2011). Most importantly, this hypothesis postulates that no personality trait will simultaneously link to both L1 and LX cultural dimensions, showing inverse (positive and negative) patterns of correlations (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000: 49). In other words, the same personality trait will not positively and negatively link to both the L1 and LX culture dimensions. This consideration has been developed on the assumption that cultures can overlap in migrants' life and that acculturation is a bi-dimensional construct. The case where the same personality characteristic links to both cultural dimensions if the pattern of the relationship is of the same type (either negative or positive) is thus accepted.

6. Can migrants' language choice for expressing emotions, self-reported language dominance and cultural orientation predict their personality profiles?

On the basis of all previous hypotheses, it is speculated that migrants' L1 use for expressing emotions, L1 self-reported dominance and L1 culture attachment will explain variance in some personality traits. At the same time, migrants' LX use for expressing emotions, LX self-reported dominance and LX culture attachment will explain variance in some personality traits. Once again, no personality trait will be both positively and negatively affected by L1 and LX variables at the same time. In other words, it is expected that L1 and LX variables will not show inverse relationships (positive and negative) with the same trait. This is motivated by the assumption that L1 and LX linguistic attitudes and L1 and LX cultural orientations can overlap in migrants' psyche (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Korzilius, van Hooft, Planken, and Hendrix, 2011; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al. 2010; Ventura, Dewaele, Koylu & McManus, 2016)

The list of hypotheses can be grouped considering three main conceptual frameworks of analysis. The first group of hypotheses (1, 2 and 3) centres on linguistic variables; the second group of hypotheses (4 and 5) is organised around cultural variables; and the last hypothesis (6) is focused on personality variables.

All groups of hypotheses will be presented in more detail in the following sections.

II.7.2.1. Hypotheses on migrants' linguistic attitudes

This series of hypotheses discusses the extent to which migrants' language choice for expressing emotions, self-perceived language dominance and self-perceptions when using the LX could change with their cultural orientation and personality profiles.

The first hypothesis concerns migrants' emotion expression in the L1 and the LX. Specifically, participants' language choice for expressing emotion is expected to reflect their cultural orientation (Matsumoto, 2006). In other words, informants' sense of belonging to the L1 culture will more likely orient them towards the L1 for expressing emotions, while migrants' appreciation of the LX culture will more likely induce them to express their emotions in the LX. Indeed, migrants' language choice for expressing emotions is believed to provide an indication of their affective engagement within L1 and LX society through their network of L1 or LX speakers. It is likely that participants interested in maintaining a solid connection with the L1 culture will engage mainly with people belonging to the same culture, while individuals who feel a strong attachment to their LX culture will seek more contacts with locals.

Furthermore, migrants' emotion expression in the L1 and the LX is expected to change according to their personality characteristics. In particular, the main argument of this thesis is that no personality trait will simultaneously explain inverse (positive and negative) variance on both L1 and LX use for emotion expression. Indeed, language and cultures are believed to overlap in migrants' minds. Consequently, a high use of the LX for expressing emotions will not imply a lower use of the L1 for the same purpose and vice versa. Indeed, it is speculated that migrants will not perceive the two

languages in dichotomous opposition. The fact that different personality features determine a higher or lower use of the L1 and LX for expressing emotions could allow the two languages to be simultaneously present in migrants' emotional experiences. The present hypothesis was inspired by several studies previously presented in this chapter (Dewaele, 2004a, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2015; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Hammer, 2016; Matsumoto & Assar, 1992; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, 2013, 2014; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al. 2010; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004).

The second hypothesis of this analytical thread focuses on the influence migrants' cultural orientation and personality profiles' might have on their self-perceived language dominance. Specifically, a strong sense of belonging to the L1 culture will more likely induce participants to consider the L1 as a dominant language, while a strong sense of belonging to the LX culture will more likely encourage them to report the LX as their dominant language. Language dominance is here believed to be a direct linguistic indication of migrants' acculturation level (Dewaele, 2004c; Dewaele, 208b, 2010a; Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009). In other words, embracing a language and implanting it in all private spheres of life could be a sign of deep attachment to the culture that produces that language (Hammer, 2016). Indeed, the attachment to a language and its presence in migrants' cognitive sphere may reveal a deep understanding and appreciation of the cultural values, norms and practices embedded in it.

In line with the hypothesis focused on participants' language choice for emotion expression, self-reported dominance is expected to change

according to personality characteristics, where no personality dimension will simultaneously determine positive and negative variance on L1 and LX self-reported dominance. This hypothesis has been elaborated on the basis of previous studies supporting the idea that languages can coexist in migrants' cognitive sphere. Hence, the idea is that participants may actually perceive both the L1 and the LX as equally dominant in different domains of their life (Dewaele, 2004c; Hammer, 2015, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013).

Finally, the last hypothesis discusses the influence migrants' cultural orientation and personality aspects could have on their sense of feeling different when using the LX. Participants' self-perceptions when using the LX are expected to change accordingly to their cultural orientation. In other words, individuals who maintained a strong connection with their L1 culture will more likely feel different when using the LX, while migrants' who report a high appreciation of LX culture – and thus feel confident with typical customs and practices – will feel less different when using the local language. This hypothesis has been developed on the basis of Panicacci and Dewaele's (2017a) results and Hammer's (2016) study.

Considering personality aspects, all traits but 'Emotional Stability' are expected to relate to lower levels of feelings of difference. Specifically, the sense of feeling different when using LX is here interpreted as related to a lower familiarity with both the new language and culture. Indeed, maintaining a resilient relationship with the original roots could make migrants feel more estranged when coping with a new language. Previous research in the field indicated results in line with this argument (Dewaele, 2016a; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer, 2016; Mijatović and

Tytus, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004; Wilson, 2008). Furthermore, several studies revealed links between migrants' self-perceptions when using the LX and some personality traits, such as 'Extraversion' and 'Neuroticism' (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Wilson, 2008). The present hypothesis relies on these findings and corroborates the idea that individuals who are more introverted and less able to cope with emotionally charged situations might feel different when using a LX, in the sense that they can consider it a comfortable way to hide their real self and intimate feelings (Dewaele, 2016a; Wilson, 2008).

In conclusion, these three hypotheses speculate that migrants' linguistic attitudes will match their cultural orientation. Likewise, personality traits are expected to display independent sets of correlates with towards the L1 or the LX variable in order to allow the coexistence of language and culture in migrants' experience (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al. 2010)

II.7.2.2. Hypotheses on migrants' cultural orientation

The second group of hypotheses focuses on migrants' acculturation. Particularly, it aims to investigate to what extent migrants' orientation between L1 and LX culture changes alongside their language choice for emotion expression, language dominance and personality profiles. Each hypothesis will be now discussed more closely.

The first hypothesis of the present analytical thread concerns the influence that migrants' language choice for emotion expression and self-

perceived language dominance might have on their cultural orientation. Specifically, the specific choice of a language for expressing intimate feelings could not only indicate an emotional inclination towards it, but it could also provide information about the speaker's network of relationships within the LX or L1 society. In other words, it is likely that migrants' language preferences for emotion expression are indicative of their L1 and LX affective socialisation, which – in turn – could provide hints in terms of their cultural attachment. Thus, participants who report communicating their feelings mainly in the L1 (and consequently have a wider network of L1 speakers) are believed to be more apt at maintaining a connection with L1 practices. Conversely, individuals who choose to express emotions extensively in their LX will display a higher degree of affective socialisation into the LX society and thus will appear more oriented towards LX values and customs. Several studies on the topic inspired the considerations above (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014; Dewaele, 2008, 2010a, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2006). Following this argument, it is essential to point out that language dominance here is intended to be conceptually different from the idea of acculturation. Rather, it could be interpreted as a linguistic manifestation of acculturative processes. Hence, L1 dominance is expected to boost L1 cultural attachment, while LX dominance is expected to boost LX cultural attachment. Embracing a language in all spheres of private life could indeed lead migrants to understand and appreciate all cultural aspects embedded in it (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b). In particular, this assumption has its foundations in Ożańska-Ponikwia's (2013) findings.

The latter hypothesis of this group concerned migrants' personality profiles and the influence they might have on their orientation towards L1 and LX cultures. More precisely, this thesis conjectures that no personality trait will simultaneously increase migrants' attachment to one cultural dimension and reduce their attachment to the other cultural dimension. In other words, personality dimensions will relate either to L1 or LX culture attachment and if a trait will relate to both, it will determine a coherent variance (either positive or negative) on both cultural dimensions. This assumption has been developed on the basis of numerous studies highlighting how personal characteristics can influence individuals' acculturation attitudes and providing evidence that acculturation is a bi-dimensional construct in the sense that migrants can hold onto different cultures' scenarios at the same time (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Kim, 2001; Leong, 2007; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a; Peltokorpi & Froese, 2011, Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al. 2010).

II.7.2.3. Hypotheses on migrants' personality traits

The final hypothesis concerns the influence that migrants' language choice for emotion expression, self-perceived language dominance and cultural orientation could have on their personality characteristics.

The choice of a specific language to express emotions or to perform cognitive operations as well as the appreciation of precise cultural practices is expected to explain variance on some personality traits. It is important to specify that – in line with the theoretical framework here adopted – no personality trait will be positively and negatively affected by L1 and LX variables. In other words, L1 and LX variables will not reveal inverse (positive

and negative) patterns of correlations with the same traits. Variance needs to go towards a coherent direction in order to allow the possibility of linguistic and cultural orientations as real bi-dimensional constructs (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). Hence, if L1 and LX variables link to the same personality traits, the pattern of correlations has to be either positive or negative in both relationships.

This hypothesis embraces the idea that personality cannot be separated from linguistic and cultural aspects when dealing with migrants' experiences and that the relationship between these factors could be treated as a reciprocal one. Indeed, research on personality traits shows that both the knowledge of other languages and their use in affective socialisation processes influence individuals' personality characteristics (Dewaele, 2008, 2010a; Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Korzilius, van Hooft, Planken, and Hendrix, 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Ventura, Dewaele, Koylu & McManus, 2016). Hence, considering personality traits as being affected by language preferences for emotion expression or by changes in linguistic and cultural behaviour seems to provide a broader and more realistic picture of migrants' life. Literature widely proved that migration experiences could deeply affect identities and personality (Besemeres, 2004; Hoffman, 1989; Parks, 1996; Pavlenko, 2001; Ye, 2003; Wierzbicka, 1985, 1997, 1999, 2004). Following this line of argument, analogous studies specifically looked also at the effects of multiculturalism on personality traits, highlighting the possibility of personality change due to the processes of adaptation to new cultural settings (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven,

2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Kim, 2001; Matsumoto & Assar, 1992; Dewaele & Panicacci, 2017a).

All hypotheses have been now extensively discussed on the basis of previous literature and of all assumptions listed in chapter I (section I.5.). The crucial core of hypothesis is the theoretical framework substantiating the linguistic and cultural hybridity of migrants (Grosjean, 2015).

The following chapter will introduce methodology, research instruments and variables.

Chapter III

Methodology

III.1. Introduction

III.1.1. Piloting the study

Having a wide variety of components to account for, two pilot studies were set up in order to test research instruments and hypotheses, identifying the variables playing a relevant part in the analysis. Both pilot studies collected data through web-questionnaires addressing Italian migrants, proficient LX-speakers of English, residing in the UK. Surveys were published online on Social Network Sites (SNS) and were informally distributed to friends and colleagues. A brief description of both the topic and the purpose of this research were provided in order to facilitate and stimulate people's participation. Both questionnaires collected migrants' socio-biographical information, language use for emotion expression, personality trait scores and general attitudes towards L1 and LX cultures and languages. The first pilot test also included a specific section dedicated to migrants' cultural identity perception, which has been eventually discarded as it was poorly integrated with the other sections of the questionnaire. There were 29 participants in the first study, while the final pilot test collected data from a total of 26 respondents. Male and female participants in both tests were proportioned. They were in their thirties, migrated during their early adulthood, and had spent an average of 7 years in the UK.

III.1.2. Initial results

Pilot test results showed a connection between migrants' language choice for expressing emotions and their sense of belonging to a specific culture. The questionnaire included questions regarding anger and love expression, swearing and also endearment term use. The latter has been eventually discarded from the final questionnaire version used in the present study. Respondents who felt more attracted to the local culture seem to report using local language for expressing emotions more frequently for expressing emotions. Similar results emerged in terms of language frequency of use, language dominance and perception. Across both studies, L1 findings rarely mirrored LX ones. In other words, participants' native language perception and use for expressing emotions rarely displayed significant correlations with their attachment to the L1 culture. These results corroborated the researcher's idea that languages and cultures might coexist in migrants' mind and that the act of embracing a new language, as well as a new culture, does not necessarily imply abandoning the heritage ones. Another important element emerging from pilot studies was that migrants' active choice in terms of language use for expressing emotions might represent a quite significant element in acculturative processes.

The second pilot test included also a variable measuring participants' sense of feeling like a different person while speaking the local language. Results indicated participants' sense of feeling different as negatively related to their attachment to the culture they where living in. In other words, participants who felt more confident with local cultural practices also tended to feel less different when using the local language.

In conclusion, these results seemed to suggest the existence of a connection between linguistic and cultural preferences. Specifically, migrants who considered the LX as emotional, colourful, rich, poetic and useful, and who reported using it more frequently to express intimate feelings, were also more interested in developing LX cultural practices.

Considering personality results, 'Social Initiative' was the trait showing more correlations. Indeed, the dimension of sociability, among other personality aspects, seemed to be linked in migrants' perceptions in terms of language and emotions. Finally, 'Social Initiative' and 'Openmindedness' were the traits which displayed a positive correlation also with participants' sense of belonging to the LX culture. Conversely, respondents' L1 culture attachment revealed no statistically significant result.

A brief session of unstructured and unrecorded interviews took place immediately after the second pilot test, where the researcher informally questioned a group of friends and colleagues or casually engaged in conversations on SNS platforms, specifically created to let survey participants speak freely about their migration experience. The majority of people involved in the pilot test took part in interviews or SNS activity online, providing some qualitative insights on the topic. The researcher mainly enquired about the emotional weight of Italian and English terms, individuals' preferences in terms of emotions expressions, heritage and host cultural aspects and whether people noticed any change in their behaviour or linguistic and emotional attitudes since migration. Most participants admitted feeling more flexible, open to diversity and more self-confident due to migration. Some participants also highlighted their emotional preference

for Italian language and culture, while some others displayed a growing appreciation for the local language and practices. Finally, a few informants explained they felt and behaved differently according to the language they were using. What mainly emerged from interviews was also the difficulty migrants exhibited in acknowledging and explaining their perceptions. Indeed, a lot of them claimed to be unable to detect whether it was their attachment to the language and to the culture which determined their behavioural changes or if their migration experience led them to develop a different perception of the languages and cultures they were facing.

III.1.3. Planning data collection

An online questionnaire comprising of several sub-questionnaires was developed with the purpose of providing an overview on language attitudes, self-perceptions, personality and cultural orientation in migrants' experience. The survey was largely inspired by the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (BEQ - Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003) presented in the previous chapter. A session of semi-structured interviews followed the quantitative data collection. The use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches is becoming increasingly widespread in Applied Linguistics (Dörnyei 2003, 2007, Hashemi, 2012). Indeed, the combination of emic and etic perspectives can overcome the limitations of narrow frameworks, making the research broader through a greater diversity in the type of data gathered (Dewaele, 2008).

III.1.3.1 Ethical considerations

The present research has received ethic approval by the members of the faculty of Social Sciences, Philosophy and History. This study does not relate to illicit or illegally acquired material and has been developed following the Research Ethic Guidelines, promoted by the School and the Economic and Social Research Council Web site. A brief explanation of the research rationale and instructions on how to fill in the questionnaires were provided to participants in the first section and the last section of the questionnaire. Each participant had to willingly agree on taking part to the research, they could optionally anonymise their contribution or could express the desire to be hidden from any publication or divulgation of results. Furthermore, all informants were aware of the possibility of withdrawing from the study as well as changing their consent to data use at any time. With regards to interviews, only participants that agreed on taking part in the session have been selected and formally asked to state their consent in the recordings, including the name they wished to be quoted with.

Quantitative and qualitative data collection will be briefly presented in the following paragraphs, together with a more detailed description of methods and instruments used.

III.2. Quantitative Data Collection

III.2.1. The Emotion, Personality and Acculturation Questionnaire

The choice of an online survey was motivated by the advantage of efficient and fast data collection from large samples of participants living all

over the world (Wilson & Dewaele, 2010). Considering that the present research addresses Italian migrants living in different English-speaking countries (ESC), it served the purpose perfectly.

The questionnaire consisted of several sub-questionnaires:

- A personal questionnaire collecting participants' socio-biographical data and information about their migration experience and their linguistic background.

- A questionnaire measuring migrants' emotion expression, language and self-perception. Specifically, this section explored participants' L1 and LX frequency of use for emotion expression with different interlocutors, L1 and LX dominance and sense of feeling different when using the LX with different interlocutors or for different matters. This part of the survey is largely inspired by the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003)

- A questionnaire measuring migrants' personality profiles. This section is entirely based on a short version of the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ - van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, Ponterotto & Fietzer, 2013).

- Questionnaire measuring migrants' L1 and LX cultural orientation, using the Vancouver Index of Acculturation scale (VIA - Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000)

- A final section enquiring about participants' privacy preferences and availability for a follow-up interview session[13].

The resulting questionnaire was addressed to Italian natives living in ESC and was in English – informants' LX – for several reasons listed below. Firstly, some of the instruments used, such as the VIA, did not have an official Italian translation. Furthermore, despite the fact that all participants had to be first-generation migrants of Italian origin who had spent the majority of their childhood in Italy, there was no limit in terms of number of years spent in an ESC and many of them could have lived large parts of their life abroad. It was thus established that there was no need to have requirements in terms of L1 proficiency, especially because, in some parts of Italy, the local dialect is more common than standard Italian. On the contrary, English proficiency had to be at intermediate level in order to guarantee at least a minimal level of social engagement with the LX society. Indeed, it was crucial to make sure participants were able to communicate in the LX. For all these reasons, the survey has been managed in English. Participants were free to use Italian when answering open questions or commenting on topics.

Detailed descriptions of each section are to be presented below and the main questionnaires can be found in Appendix II.

III.2.1.1. Personal Background Questionnaire

The personal background questionnaire measured respondents' age, gender, educational level, country of birth and country of residence, age and

[13] The entire questionnaire con be found in the Appendix II.

brief history of migration, original and current family status, status in the country and self-reported LX proficiency. A grid question, inspired from the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003), was incorporated in order to verify participants' L1 and LX frequency of use with different interlocutors (strangers, colleagues, friends, family, partner), providing the options: *N/A, never, rarely, sometimes, frequently, all the time*. Apart from the variables mentioned above, the survey elicited data about participants' self-perceived command of foreign languages other than English and enquired about the languages shared in their romantic relationship. Finally, participants' were asked to provide their consent to participate in the present research and had an open box question where they were able to enter their real name, choose a fictional one or use an acronym, according to their preferences.

Bearing in mind that the present research focuses on data elicited from Italian native speakers living in ESC, it was crucial to make sure that respondents were not English native speakers too. Further analysis of participants' answers both to questionnaire items as well as open-ended questions proved that all respondents were not native speakers of English.

III.2.1.2. Emotion, Language and Self-perceptions Questionnaire

The questionnaire used was elaborated from a couple of pilot surveys and was inspired by Dewaele and Pavlenko's BEQ web-survey (2001-2003) presented in section II.4.2.4. The BEQ invited respondents to supply information about their knowledge of different languages and respond to a series of questions regarding the use and perception of these languages. The original version of the questionnaire used in this research comprised 12 questions grouped into 3 sections: expression of emotions, language

perception and migrants' self-perception when using the LX. Some of the questions originally included were discarded as not strictly relevant to the final enquiry of this project or simply to make the whole questionnaire manageable in a maximum of 30-40 minutes of time, which is slightly more that what is recommended (Dörnyei, 2003). The final version had 10 grid and open questions.

The section enquiring about migrants' emotions was the largest, counting a total of 3 pairs of grid questions. Migrants were asked to rate the frequency of use of their L1 and LX for expressing emotions of different kinds (anger, love, swearing) with different interlocutors according to Likert scale options: *N/A, never, rarely, sometimes, frequently, all the time*. The questions investigating anger expression and swearing included six categories of interlocutors (strangers, colleagues, friends, family, partner, alone), while the question measuring love expression counted only four categories of interlocutors (colleagues, friends, family, partner).

The section enquiring about language perception was finally reduced to analysing migrants' self-perceived language dominance only. Participants had to rate how dominant the L1 and the LX were in their life according to the scale options provided: *not at all, somehow, more or less, to a large extent, absolutely*.

Finally, the section centred on migrants' self-perceptions when using the LX comprised two grid questions, one focusing on migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX with different interlocutors (strangers, colleagues, friends, family, partner) and one focusing on migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX to discuss different topics (neutral,

personal and emotional matter). Both question provided the following options: *N/A, never, rarely, sometimes, frequently, all the time.*

Considering the generally accepted value of 0.8 as appropriate for cognitive tests (Field, 2005; Kline, 1999), the Cronbach's α for the Emotions, Language and Self-perceptions questionnaire, which has a total of 11 items, was good: .831**.**

III.2.1.3. Personality Questionnaire

This section was based on an English short version of the MPQ (van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, Ponterotto & Fietzer, 2013), presented in the previous chapter (section II.2.4.1.), consisting on 40 statements about personal attitudes and behaviour in several contexts, mainly related to multicultural situations. The introduction to the questionnaire drew on the instructions and required participants to use a 5-point rating scale from '*totally not applicable*' to '*very applicable*' with a mid-point of '*moderately applicable*' in order to indicate their agreement with the statements presented. The MPQ questionnaire used can be found in Appendix II.

The scales of the MPQ have been widely used and proven to be a reliable instrument, having consistent patterns of correlation with related variables and an average Cronbach's α of 0.80. In the present study the MPQ test had a Cronbach's α of .878.

III.2.1.4. Acculturation Questionnaire

This section was entirely based on the VIA (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000), presented in the second paragraph of the previous chapter (section

II.3.1.1.). The VIA is a bi-dimensional scale of acculturation, which distinguishes the acquisition of the new (host) cultural tendencies from the retaining of the old (heritage) cultural tendencies. The VIA does not intend to measure acculturation outcomes but individuals' orientations instead, having 10 items assessing heritage culture attachment and 10 assessing host culture attachment. Specifically, participants were asked to rate their liking for typical values, traditions, customs, and practices for each culture on a 9-point Likert scale. All questions referring to participants' L1 culture addressed their 'heritage culture', while all questions referring to participants' LX culture were addressed their 'host culture'. A brief introduction asked respondents to consider their culture of their home country as their heritage and the culture of the country they were residing as their host culture. In this way, the questionnaire could be distributed in different ESC to migrants coming from different parts of Italy. Reliability of the VIA was assessed by means of Cronbach's α, which was.897.

From a theoretical point of view, both the VIA and the BEQ allow the possibility of different languages and cultures as simultaneously present in multilingual and multicultural individuals. Thus, they appropriately serve the purpose of the present research.

III.2.1.5. Final Section

A final section was included to let participants specify their privacy preferences, their agreement on being quoted in further work, their contact details and availability for a follow-up session of interview. A comment box

was added to let participants express further suggestions or information relevant to the study.

III.2.2. Administration of the Questionnaire and limitations

As mentioned before, the present study examined adult migrants of Italian origin. Italian language has been thus labeled as 'L1', while English – the language of the country participants were living in – has been labeled 'LX', in order to avoid any reference to the chronological order of acquisition or the number of languages known by participants. In the case of individuals coming from bicultural families or that were born in other countries, the requirements were that participants could not be English native speakers and must have spent the majority of their childhood in Italy, so consider 'Italy' as their heritage country. All informants had to be living in an ESC at the time of the questionnaire. In order to maintain a balance between the host cultures considered, the test was distributed only in some Western countries: the UK, Ireland, the US and Canada. There was no requirement in terms of time spent in an ESC or educational, work, family or residency status. Similarly, participants could have lived in other countries and could also speak other languages besides Italian and English.

Taking an overview of the literature on adult language learners, participants in such studies seem to fall into three main categories, as summarised by Wilson (2008: 115-116). The first category comprises bilinguals who are able to operate at a native-speaker level of competence in both languages. These participants have grown up speaking two languages, the 'home language' and the 'ambient language'. They may well exercise

choice, either consciously or unconsciously, as to when and to whom they use each language but they are able to operate equally competently in both (Wilson 2008:115). The second category of informants is represented by migrants who need to learn or master their LX in order to be able to live and work in a given community (Norton, 2001; Kanno & Norton, 2003). Finally, students taking part in an extended stay in the foreign country represent the third category of respondents. Reflecting on the three main categories of participants presented above, it was decided to advertise the survey among migrant L1 speakers of Italian and LX speakers of English, from all categories but with particular attention to individuals of the first type, as Italian-English bilingual and bi-cultural candidates have to be excluded. Indeed, for the purposes of the present study, English had to be an LX and the culture participants lived in had to be unrelated to their heritage.

Volunteers were recruited by various means. Migrants were found and asked to participate by the researcher contacting Italian societies, cultural associations, schools and college departments. During the period of the survey, the researcher was living and working in the UK and had access to the Italian Consulate offices in London. For this reason, a large number of participants were recruited in the UK. Additionally, the questionnaire was advertised among students at several universities, through student unions and alumni groups and societies. Finally, the survey was also advertised on Social Network Websites (SNS) in order to reach a broader range of geographical and biographical specifics. SNS groups proved to be the best option to recruit informants with various biographical specifics from different ESC.

The questionnaire was active for a period of about 5 months – from February 2014 until July 2015 – and recruited approximately 500 participants. The number of respondents has been reduced to 468 after discarding incomplete or double entries and all participants without the necessary requirements to take part in the research.

III.2.3. Participants

A total of 468 Italian migrants, consisting of 321 females and 147 males, filled out the online questionnaire. Participants were residing in the United Kingdom (n = 360), Ireland (n = 48), the United States (n = 56) and English-speaking Canada (n = 4). The average age was 34, ranging from 18 to 73 years old (*SD* = 9), where participants aged between 27 and 33 slightly prevailed (34.2%). Only 9 respondents were short-term residents (e.g. visiting the country for a limited and specific period of time), 127 reported to be undefined temporary residents, 291 permanent residents and 41 citizen or in the process of naturalisation. They were quite highly educated: 62 obtained a high school diploma, 124 an Undergraduate degree, 177 a Postgraduate degree, and 105 a Doctoral degree. The majority of participants were born in Italy (n = 449), some of them were born in an ESC (n = 13) and only a few were born in another country (n = 6). Italian-English simultaneous bilinguals have been excluded from the sample, for reasons mentioned above. All informants born in an ESC generally emigrated elsewhere before starting speaking the language and did not have English native-speaker parents. Hence, 440 participants came from a fully Italian family, while 28 reported having a bicultural family. The average age of migration is 27, ranging from 0 to 53 (SD = 7), where the large majority of respondents left Italy when aged

between 25 and 30 (45.1%). The average number of years spent in an ESC was 7, ranging from a few months to 68 years (SD = 9): 45.3% of informants had spent up to 3 years in an ESC; 33.1% up to 10 years, 15.8% up to 20 years and 5.8% had spent over 20 years in a foreign country. Self-perceived LX proficiency, measured on a 5-point Likert scale, varied from least proficient to native-like for reading (M = 4.56, SD = .627), writing (M = 4.20, SD = .813), listening (M = 4.31, SD = .734) and speaking (M = 4.19, SD = .773). The vast majority of informants (62.4%) rated their command of English as really advanced or high intermediate (32.1%). Participants also reported Italian and English frequency of use (FoU) with different interlocutors on a 5-point scale ranging from: *1) never, 2) rarely, 3) sometimes, 4) frequently, 5) all the time*. For each language, five categories of interlocutors were presented: *strangers* (M L1 = 1.99, SD = 1.2; M LX = 4.76, SD = .631), *colleagues* (M L1 = 2.50, SD = 1.80; M LX = 4.61, SD = 1.19), *friends* (M L1=3.93, SD=1.04; M LX = 4.63, SD = .739), *family* (M L1 = 4.38, SD = .702; M LX = 1.90, SD = 1.70), *partner* (M L1 = 2.39, SD = 2.17; M LX = 2.62, SD = 2.21). Mean scores clearly show a prevalence of Italian in conversations involving more familiar interlocutors, such as family members, and a prevalence of English in conversations involving less familiar interlocutors, like colleagues or strangers. The category of 'friends' indicated high mean scores for both languages and the category of 'partners' indicated low scores with high SDs as 270 respondents reported not having a partner.

Considering a total score from the sum of every single category of interlocutors, participants tended to speak slightly more English than Italian (M L1 = 15.12, SD = 3.96 and M LX = 18.44, SD = 3.96). The sample was also

highly multilingual, with 169 bilinguals, 155 trilinguals, 97 quadrilinguals, 35 pentalinguals, 10 sexta-linguals and 2 participants speaking seven and eight languages respectively. The most popular alternative languages were: Spanish, French and German, followed by Portuguese, Russian, Arabic, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Romanian, Slovak, Serbian, Polish, Chinese, Mandarin, Cantonese, Korean, Thai, Ukrainian, Greek, Croatian, Czech, Swiss German, Japanese, Farsi, Hebrew, Hindi, Latin, Afrikaans, Ghanaian, Brazilian Portuguese and some Italian dialects (Sicilian, Sardo, Friulan and Venetian). Table 1 (Appendix I) indicates the number of participants per language. Regarding migrants' romantic relationships, 270 migrants did not have a partner at time of testing, 111 participants reported speaking only 1 language with their partner; 67 reported sharing two languages with their partner; 17 reported using three languages in their relationship and 3 people reported using up to four languages with their loved ones.

Given the strong proportion of women and highly educated participants, the sample is certainly not representative of the general population. However, this is a typical outcome of data gathered using on-line web questionnaires concerning language issues (Wilson & Dewaele, 2010). The advantages of using an online questionnaire are that it allows efficient and fast data collection from a very large sample of migrants from across the world with a wide age range and diverse socio-biographical specifics.

III.2.4. Variables

III.2.4.1. Expressing emotions in the L1 and the LX

As mentioned previously, participants were asked to rate their language preference for expressing emotions of different kinds with different interlocutors (BEQ, Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003). The questionnaire enquired about expression of anger, expression of love or affection and swearing practices. Feedback on the first couple of grid questions '*If you are angry, how often do you typically choose to express your anger in [Italian/English] when you are speaking with … (strangers, colleagues, friends, family, partner, alone)?*' was coded according to a 5-point scale with a value of 1 attributed to those who answered '*not at all*'; a value of 2 for those who answered '*rarely*'; a value of 3 for those who answered '*sometimes*'; a value of 4 for those who answered '*frequently*'; a value of 5 for those who answered '*all the time*' and a value of 0 was attributed to those who answered '*N/A*', in order to distinguish those who cannot face that specific circumstance (e.g. they did not have a partner, they did not have colleagues…) from those who face the circumstance and choose not to use that language.

The second couple of grid questions '*How often do you choose to express your love or affection in [Italian/English] when you are speaking with … (colleagues, friends, family, partner)?*' were coded in the same way and, based on the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003), two categories of interlocutors – strangers and alone – were dropped.

Feedback on the last couple of grid questions examining participants swearing practices was coded in the same way. The questions – extracted

from the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003) – were: '*If you swear, how often do you choose to swear in [Italian/English] when you are speaking with … (strangers, colleagues, friends, family, partner, alone)?*'

All linguistic variables related to emotion expression have been summed up in a total score. The purpose was to produce a variable that could give an indication of participants' affective socialisation within the heritage and host society. This 'emotion expression variable' is still intended as a different concept from affective socialisation itself as it only measures the frequency of use of a language for expressing emotions on the basis of migrants' choice and the network of interlocutors. Thus, besides giving information about migrants' language preferences for expressing intimate emotions, this variable is believed also to give an indication of migrants' degree of affective engagement within heritage and host society. Indeed, it can indirectly reveal information about migrants' actual network of relationships with L1 and LX speakers by considering the amount of L1 and LX used for expressing different emotions with different kinds of interlocutors.

III.2.4.2. Feeling Different when using the LX

The survey included two questions enquiring about migrants' sense of feeling different while using the LX, extracted from the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003). Feedback on the first grid question '*Do you feel like a different person when you use English with … (strangers, colleagues, friends, family, partner)?*' was coded in the same way as all questions analysing participants' emotion expression attitudes.

The second grid question focused on the use of LX for specific matters: '*Do you feel like a different person when talking in English about …* (*neutral, personal, emotional matters*)?' Responses were coded in the same way as before.

III.2.4.3. Language Dominance

The questionnaire included one question analysing migrants' language dominance, still inspired from the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003). A brief comment explained what was intended by the term 'dominant language' and informants were asked to consider in what language they dream, count, think, speak to themselves, pray, write notes or keep a diary. Feedback on the grid question '*Do you consider [Italian/English] to be your dominant language?*' was coded according to a 5-point scale with a value of 1 attributed to those who answered '*not at all*'; a value of 2 for those who answered '*somehow*; a value of 3 for those who answered '*more or less*; a value of 4 for those who answered '*to a large extent*; a value of 5 for those who answered '*absolutely*'.

It could be argued that language dominance is conceptually similar to acculturation. This research, therefore, by examining migrants' cultural liking, attachment and sense of belonging to a culture, is more focused on personal inclinations rather than the effects of acculturation. Language dominance could be intended as a linguistic effect of acculturative processes but in this circumstance it is important to note its conceptual distance from the idea of 'cultural orientation' examined here.

III.2.4.4. Personality Traits

The short version of the MPQ (van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, Ponterotto & Fietzer, 2013) used in the present research consists of 40 statements about personal attitudes and behaviour with which participants could agree or disagree on a 5-point scale. Each statement referred to one of the five traits: Cultural Empathy, Flexibility, Social Initiative, Openmindedness or Emotion Stability. Final trait scores were calculated by summing up every relevant score assigned by participants.

III.2.4.5. Cultural Orientation

As mentioned earlier, the VIA (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000) assesses migrants' attachments to their heritage and host culture. The scale presented the same 10 statements per culture where respondents were asked to rate their liking for typical values, traditions, norms and customs on a 9-point Likert scale. Final sub-scores per each cultural scenario, the heritage one (L1 Acculturation) and the host one (LX Acculturation) were computed by calculating the mean score of all relevant statements.

III.2.5. A new framework of analysis: bi-directional influence

The present research aims to investigate the complex network of relationships between migrants' language choice for expressing emotions, sense of feeling different when using the LX, language dominance, culture orientation and personality profiles. The study has been carried out following three main analytical threads. The first stage of the analysis will consider linguistic variables related to emotion expression, self- and language

perception; the second stage will focus on migrants' L1 and LX culture orientations; finally, the last stage will centre on all personality traits. All three frameworks of analysis will be described in more detail in the following sections.

III.2.5.1. Linguistic Analysis

One of the purposes of this thread of analysis is to investigate the extent to which migrants' language choice for expressing emotions changes with their cultural orientation and personality profiles. A second aim of this thread of analysis focuses on examining the extent to which migrants' self-reported language dominance changes with their cultural orientation and personality profiles. Finally, the last section of the present thread of analysis will consider whether migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX changes with their cultural orientation and personality profiles. Hence, in this analytic thread, all linguistic variables (L1 and LX use for expressing emotions, L1 and LX self-reported dominance and the sense of feeling different when using the LX with different interlocutors and for different matters) will be the dependent variables, while migrants' L1 and LX culture orientation and all personality traits (Cultural Empathy, Flexibility, Social Initiative, Openmindedness and Emotion Stability) will be the independent variables.

III.2.5.2. Cultural Analysis

The second thread of analysis focuses on acculturation as a dependent variable. Specifically, it aims to investigate to what extent migrants' orientation between L1 and LX culture changes according to their language

choice for emotion expression, language dominance and personality profiles. Therefore, following this analytic framework, the cultural variables (migrants' attachment to L1 and LX culture) will be the dependent variables, while linguistic variables (migrants' L1 and LX use for emotion expression and L1 and LX self-reported dominance)[14] and all personality traits (Cultural Empathy, Flexibility, Social Initiative, Openmindedness and Emotion Stability) will be the independent variables.

III.2.5.3. Personality Analysis

The last thread of analysis focuses on examining whether migrants' language choice for expressing emotions, language dominance and cultural orientation could explain variance in their personality profiles. Thus, the present analytic framework considers all personality traits (Cultural Empathy, Flexibility, Social Initiative, Openmindedness and Emotion Stability) as dependent variables, while linguistic aspects (migrants' L1 and LX use for emotion expression and L1 and LX self-reported dominance) and cultural aspects (migrants' attachment to L1 and LX culture) are the independent variables.

III.2.6. Statistical Analysis

The idea of investigating variables bi-directionally has been predominantly developed following Dewaele's (2012, 2016b) call for a new way of investigating personality aspects. The researcher argued that psychological variables could indeed interact with each other and with a wide

[14] Migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX with different interlocutors and to discuss different matters will be considered as a dependent variable only. Hence, it will not be included in the study of cultural orientation and personality profiles.

range of socio-biographical aspects (2012: 9). Specifically, correlation and regression analyses seemed the most appropriate statistical tests for measuring bi-directional relationships and mutual variance among all variables. This method has been inspired by the study conducted by Dewaele and Tsui Shan Ip (2013), centred on examining the relationship between Foreign Classroom Anxiety, LX Tolerance of Ambiguity and self-reported LX proficiency. Specifically, the researchers computed a series of multiple linear regressions and in each individual test they used all three factors analysed alternatively as independent and dependent variables in order to determine the unique amount of variance explained by each of them. As expected, statistical analysis showed quite similar results in terms of variances, but confirmed the hypothesis that a strong link existed between the factors analysed in the research. From this perspective, it is crucial to point out that causality remains elusive due to inherent limitations of statistical analysis. While the statistical techniques did not allow the researchers to decide on causal relationships, findings confirmed the existence of a link among variables and that a small amount of variance is shared among them. In other words, it could be asserted that factors were reciprocally affecting each other. Thus, in the present research, statistical analysis will be conducted according to the three paths of analysis mentioned above, where dependent and independent variables will alternate in order to examine reciprocal variance.

III.3. Qualitative Data Collection

The present research relies on a design, which sees the convergence of qualitative and quantitative perspectives, where qualitative data is collected in support of pre-identified statistical trends (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

In particular, the present dissertation followed the steps of Dewaele and Tsui Shan Ip's research (2013) (in terms of the way statistical analysis has been performed) and Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2014) study (for the way results have been presented). The purpose is to use migrants' insights to explain and support statistical findings in order to create a more defined picture of the psychological and socio-linguistic changes involved in migration, adding nuance to quantitative analysis. Considering this study as an attempt to understand the multiple changes involved in the process of migration, a mixed method seems to suit the purpose by approaching the topic from different angles. Triangulation is the incorporation of various methodologies in one research study, aiming at uncovering the subject through multiple techniques and at validating findings of one technique through the use of another (Comanaru & Dewaele, 2015; Dewaele, 2005; Saville-Troike, 2003). Specifically, the present thesis relies on established instruments, the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003), the MPQ (van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, Ponterotto & Fietzer, 2013) and the VIA (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000) – encompassing previous literature and findings – and, by giving participants the chance to freely talk about their experience as migrants, it also takes into account real-life stories, perceptions and feelings. Open questions were included in the online questionnaire in order to elicit stories linked to migration and also self-perceptions when using the LX. After the quantitative collection, a follow-up session of semi-structured interviews was set up as an attempt at giving participants a voice. These interviews were designed on the basis of both a few statistical trends, identified in an initial analysis, and open questions' codes and general tendencies. Considering that qualitative items here are not part of a complete context-based qualitative data set, they serve

the purpose of providing the researcher with emerging themes and quotes to be used to explain quantitative findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

III.3.1. Open-ended questions

The survey elicited data about participants' linguistic and socio-biographical background using some open questions, presented in the previous paragraphs.

III.3.1.1. Linguistic and Socio-biographical Data

In the first section of the questionnaire, informants were asked to provide more information about their linguistic background and migration experience. In particular, respondents were requested to state the number of languages spoken, including the FoU and the network of interlocutors for each of the languages listed, paying specific attention to the languages used in their loving relationships with partners or family members (table 1). Considering migration history, participants were first asked to list the countries they have lived in, including their age at time of migration. Secondly, another open question elicited data about participants' experience in the country they were living at the time of test, asking them to specify the reason for migration, their expectations and outcomes, including a brief evaluation of their experience in the country.

Data from all questions focusing on migrant's linguistic background turned out to be useful to better understand the process of language choice for expressing emotions in affective relationships. Migrants provided insights in terms of their language choice for praising or reprimanding their children or for expressing affection to their partners, pets or siblings. This information

helped to map respondents' linguistic networks of affective relationships, inclusive of both their spoken languages and members and environments in which they use them.

All other open-items focusing on migration experiences provided initial clues in terms of cultural perceptions and orientations. Data was mainly used to build a more defined socio-biographical background of participants, as responses remained at a general level.

III.3.1.2. Self-perceptions when using the LX

An optional question was added to allow respondents to provide personal and more detailed insights regarding their self-perceptions when using the LX: '*If you feel like a different person when speaking in English please give reasons, explain your feelings about that*'. The question aimed to complement statistical data by probing the nature of migrants' 'multiple selves' perception, considering the potential connections with their cultural orientation and personality. The question included no specific requirement in terms of language use. The researcher worked on all translations, which rarely occurred, as all participants answered in English, besides one candidate, who chose to answer in Italian.

III.3.2. Follow-up Interviews

III.3.2.1. Procedures and Materials

The objective of follow-up interviews was to further examine the relationship between migrants' self-perceptions, language perception and choice for emotion expressions, cultural orientation and personality aspects.

The idea behind qualitative data collection was to follow the steps of initial statistical findings in order to verify their validity, also adding a more authentic perspective through migrants' voices. Each interview session was an individual interview, lasting between 1 and 2 hours. Interviews were semi-structured as the researcher facilitated the conversation, letting candidates speak freely about their migration experience, providing only minimal guidance on the basis of initial statistical findings. The idea was to collect qualitative data in the most unbiased way, avoiding the risk to directly address the pre-identified statistical trends. Yet, the emerging categories reflected the main quantitative threads of analysis.

In respect of ethical regulations, candidates were assured of the confidentiality of the study and provided their consent for recordings. They were reminded of the general research purposes, that they had previously filled in a survey and that this stage was aimed to add lifelike data to statistical findings.

III.3.2.2. Interview Participants

All interview participants were selected from the sample that completed the web-survey. As mentioned earlier, the questionnaire included a final question and comment box were informants could express their desire to take part to a follow-up interview, providing also their contact details and. Because of practical constraints, only UK participants were selected to take part in the interviews. Despite this, the focus was on gathering as many diverse experiences of migration as possible. Candidates have been selected according to the rich qualitative data provided in the open-question survey, as well as their socio-biographical characteristics, such as age, years spent in

the ESC, education level, level of multilingualism and of contact with the local society, family and migration history (table 3a, 3b – Appendix I). Informants' feeling different, personality and acculturation scores were also taken into consideration in order to select not only those who reflected the statistical trends, but also those that were not in line with statistical findings. A total of 5 candidates took part in the follow-up interviews. Together with the open-question insights from the survey, interview data from these candidates was considered to be sufficient to illustrate and clarify statistical findings.

Participants came from different backgrounds, had different family statuses and different biographical details. Most participants were females (n = 4) and only 1 was male. They were all born in Italy, as the vast majority of the sample, but 1 interviewee grew up on the Austrian border and her family was originally from Croatia, when it was still part of Italy. A total of 4 participants were living in London and 1 was living in Chester, England. Giving that interviews were conducted face-to-face, it was easier to reach candidates living in London. However, 2 of them also lived in other countries before moving to the UK and 1 of them was living in a different county when interviewed. With regards to their status in the country, 1 of them reported to be 'temporary resident', 2 of them reported to be 'permanent residents' in the country, while 2 were in the process of naturalisation. Participants' ages ranged from 28 to 45 and the number of years spent living in the UK ranged from 5 years up to 18 years. They mostly completed their high school education in Italy and migrated to the UK in their twenties, only 1 of them was still a teenager at time of migration. They were all highly educated,

reflecting the sample specifics. However, they all had different social statuses, as they were working in different sectors, and they all pursued different levels and types of qualifications. A more complete profile description of each candidate will be provided before presenting interview insights in section

III.3.2.3. Further considerations on interview data

Interview sessions were meant to collect insights into the lives and experiences of migrants. For ethical reasons, participants were asked to choose a fake name to be interviewed in. Despite being given an option, all candidates chose to be interviewed in English and rarely code-switched to Italian, usually when referring to specific emotional expressions, terms of endearments or swear words, which have not been translated in the transcripts. There are only a couple of brief sections in Italian, recorded after the interview took place which have been translated by the researcher as believed to be relevant for the present study. In each session the researcher did not refer to any of the statistical analyses previously conducted, in order not to compromise participants' responses.

III.4. Final remarks: managing Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

Results emerging from the two types of data are mixed and combined in chapter IV. Qualitative data from open questions and interviews will be presented along quantitative findings in order to explain statistical data, providing a lifelike and subjective illustration of numerical trends.

One concern about this type of analytic approach is that since

> "[...] the qualitative items are an add-on to a quantitative instrument, the items generally do not result in a complete context-based qualitative data set" (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011:81)

Indeed, the categories presented are marginally defined.

> "However, they provide the researcher with emergent themes and interesting quotes that can be used to validate and embellish the quantitative survey findings" (p.81)

The investigation proceeded in two main stages. Initially, statistical analysis was conducted according to the three main analytical threads – mentioned in the previous series of paragraphs (sections: III.2.5.1., III.2.5.2., III.2.5.3.), with the purpose of verifying all hypotheses concerning the complex relationships between migrants' language choice for emotion expression, self-reported language dominance, self-perceptions when switching languages, cultural orientation and personality profiles. In the second stage, open question responses and interviews have been examined and briefly categorised on the basis of quantitative tendencies.

Detailed analysis of quantitative results will be thus supported by presentations of migrants' qualitative insights from both open questions and interviews, following Creswell & Plano Clark's structure (2011). The choice of data extracts accompanying quantitative findings in the next section was mainly guided by the principle that they had to be illustrative of quantitative trends, at the same time being poignant and interesting, in order to add a real emic perspective to statistical dimensions (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014).

The following chapter will illustrate results following the initial hypothesis list (section II.7.2.), grouping variables according to the analytic threads previously presented.

Chapter IV

Quantitative and Qualitative Data Analysis

IV.1. Introduction

The literature reviewed suggested that migrants' linguistic attitudes, cultural orientation and personality profiles are pieces of a complex puzzle. The main argument behind this thesis is that the relationships between migrants' acculturation, psychological profiles and linguistic aspects related to emotion expression, self- and language perceptions are reciprocal. In other words, the directionality of the relationship between all socio-linguistic and psychological variables involved is considered hard to establish.

The present chapter will provide an overview of all quantitative and qualitative procedures and a detailed analysis of the research question presented at the end of the second chapter.

IV.2. Quantitative Descriptive Analysis

IV.2.1. Expressing Emotions in the L1 and the LX

IV.2.1.1. Anger in the L1 and the LX

As mentioned previously, participants were asked to rate their language preference for expressing emotions of different kinds with different interlocutors (BEQ, Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003). The questionnaire enquired about expression of anger, expression of love or affection and

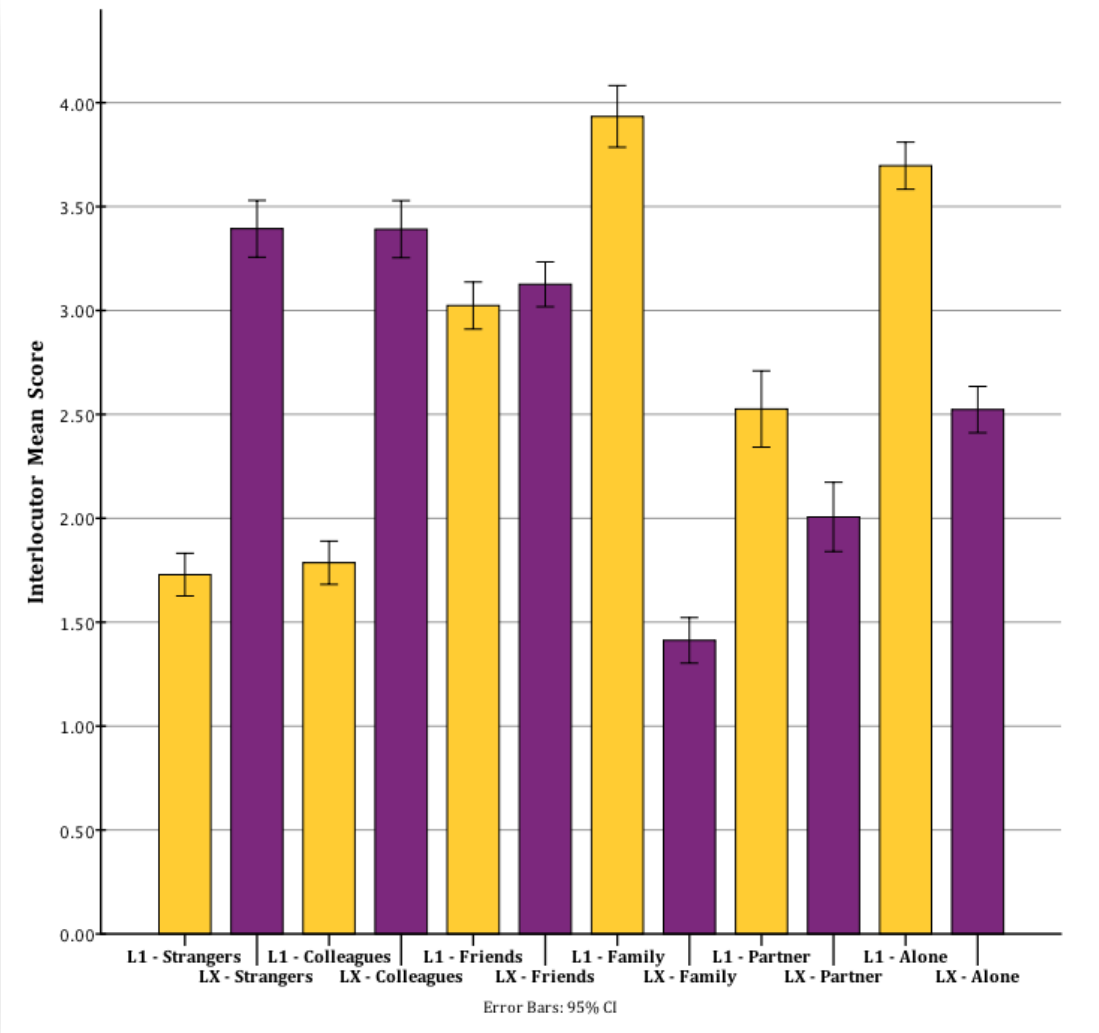
swearing practices[15]. According to responses, participants tended to use the LX more than the L1 to express anger with strangers (M L1=1.73, SD=1.13; M LX = 3.39, SD = 1.50) and colleagues (M L1 = 1.79, SD = 1.15; M LX = 3.39, SD = 1.15). This could be explained by the fact that the LX was the language of the environment where informants worked and lived at the time of the questionnaire. The scenario changed with more familiar interlocutors. Indeed, respondents reported using the two languages equally when speaking with friends, where the LX still slightly prevails (M L1 = 3.09, SD = 1.25; M LX = 3.13 SD = 1.18), and they progressively shifted towards a higher use of their native language when expressing anger with family (M L1 = 3.93, SD = 1.63; M LX = 1.41 SD = 1.21), partners (M L1 = 2.53, SD = 2.02; M LX = 2.01 SD = 1.84) and alone (M L1 = 3.70, SD = 1.25; M LX = 2.52 SD = 1.23). L1 and LX mean scores for each interlocutor category are displayed in figure 1a. Looking at frequencies, 47.4% and 39.5% of participants respectively reported never using the L1 to express anger with strangers and colleagues, 35% reported using the L1 to express anger with friends in some occasions, 59.2% reported using the L1 all the time when expressing anger with their family, and 34.4% reported frequently using the L1 when expressing anger alone. The interlocutor category of partners reported skewed results. In other words, most informants (29.1%) responded '*N/A*' or '*all the time*' (26%), but responses were definitely distributed across all answers. Considering the LX use for expressing anger, 29.3% of participants reported using their LX all the time when dealing with strangers, 28.4% reported frequently using it with colleagues, 34.6% reported using the LX to express anger with friends only in

[15] See Appendix II.

some occasions, 55.1% said that they never used the LX with their family and, finally, 31.4% stated sometimes using the LX when expressing anger alone.

Figure 1a

Differences between L1 and LX use for anger expression mean scores for single categories of interlocutor



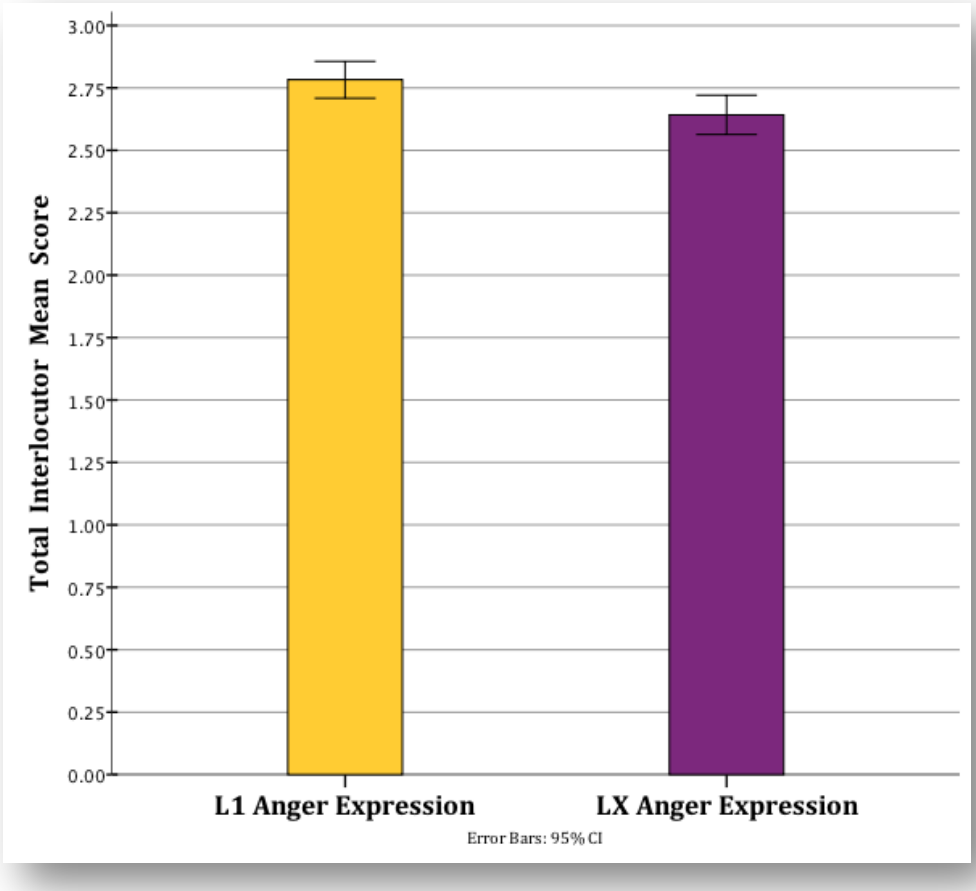
Similar to what happened when analysing L1 answers, participants mainly chose '*N/A*' or '*never*' (20.9%) when asked about their LX use for expressing anger with their partners.

In order to have a wider perspective of migrants' language preferences for expressing anger within their networks of interlocutors, a total score was

elaborated by computing the mean of all interlocutor category scores. Considering the resulting mean score, participants tended to use the L1 more (M = 2.78, SD = .81) than the LX (M = 2.64, SD = .87) for expressing anger (figure 1b). Overall, 53% of participants reported expressing anger with any interlocutor mainly in the L1; 4.3% reported using the L1 and the LX equally and 42.7% reported to use the LX more frequently than the L1 for the same purpose.

Figure 1b

Differences between L1 and LX use for anger expression with all interlocutor mean scores

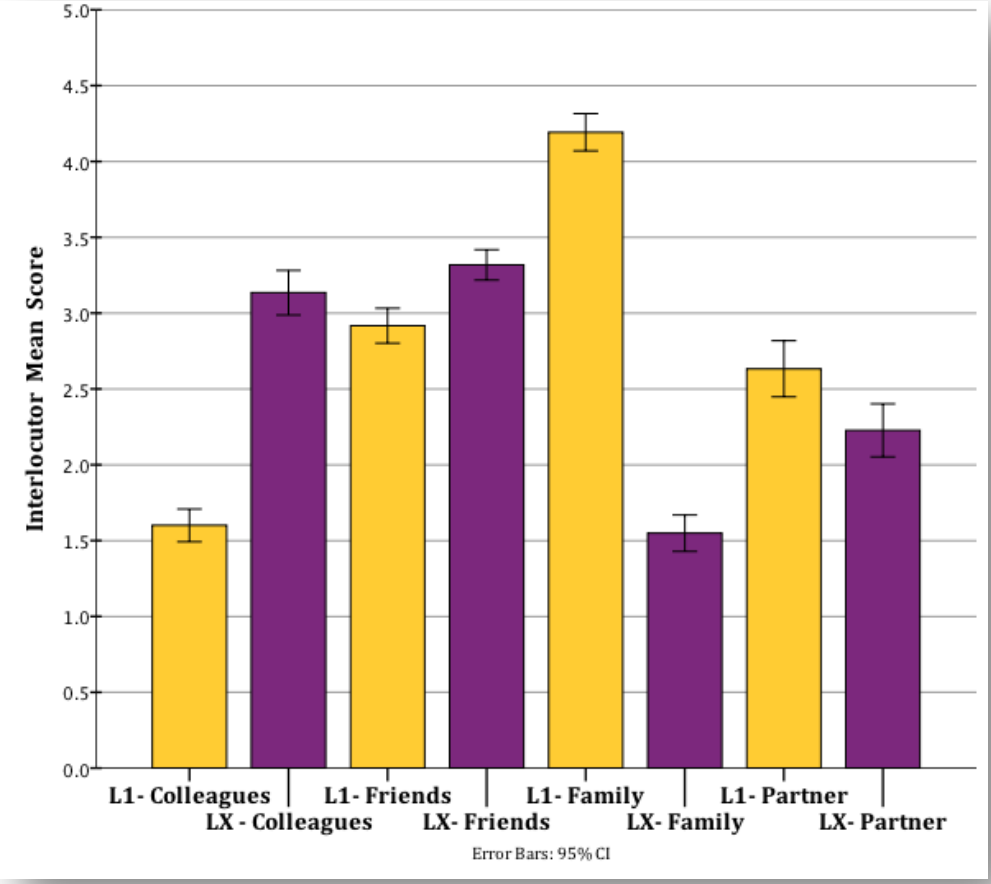


IV.2.1.2. Love in the L1 and the LX

The second couple of grid questions aimed at scrutinising language choice for love expression with different interlocutors, where two categories –strangers and alone- were dropped. According to responses, informants tended to use the LX more frequently than the L1 to express affection with colleagues (M L1 = 1.60, SD=1.19; M LX = 3.13, SD=1.62).

Figure 2a

Differences between L1 and LX use for love expression mean scores for single categories of interlocutors

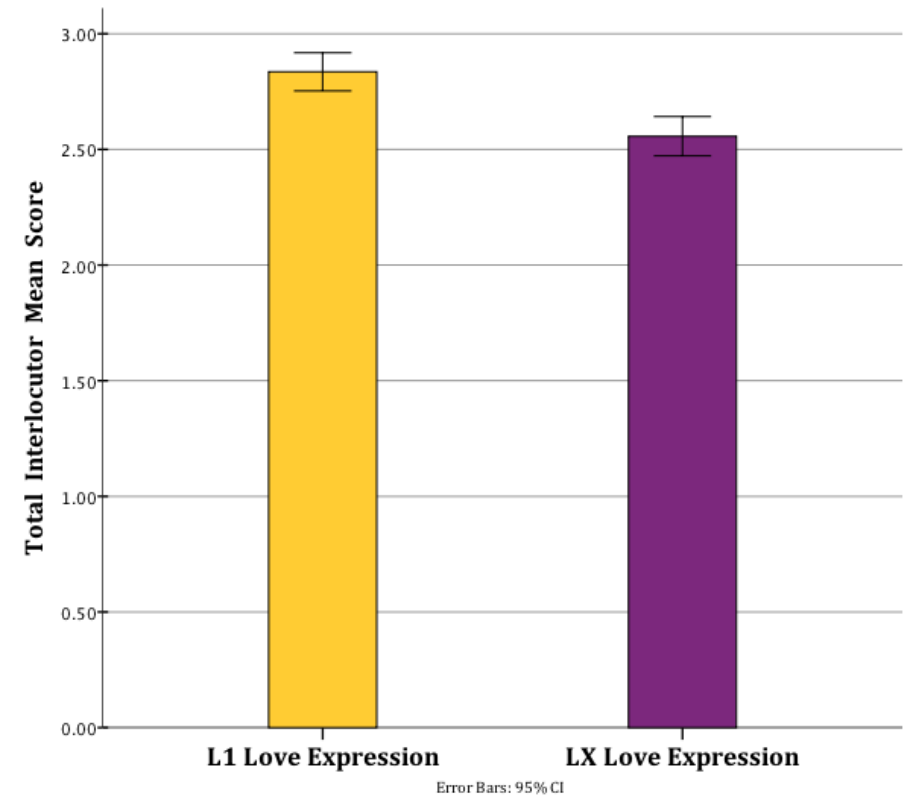


Once again, it could be speculated that the LX was the language of the environment where participants worked and lived at the time of the survey. It is thus reasonable to expect a higher frequency of use of the LX for this

category of interlocutors. Although the LX is still the preferred language for expressing love and affection with friends (M L1 = 2.92, SD = 1.27; M LX = 3.32 SD = 1.10), its use consistently dropped when analysing more familiar categories of interlocutors, like family (M L1 = 4.19, SD = 1.36; M LX = 1.55 SD = 1.32) and partners (M L1 = 2.63, SD=2.03; M LX = 2.23 SD=1.93). L1 and LX mean scores for each interlocutor category are displayed in figure 2a. Looking at frequencies, 47.4% reported never using the L1 to express love with colleagues, 32.5% reported using the L1 to express love with friends in some occasions, and 61.5% and 28.8% respectively reported using the L1 all the time when expressing love with their family and partner. Considering, on the other hand, LX data, 27.4% of informants reported frequently using their LX when expressing affection to colleagues, 36.8% reported using the LX with friends only on some occasions and, finally, 52.6% reported never using the LX with their family. As happened with anger expression, the question enquiring about expressing love with informants' partners showed more distributed responses, where the most common answer was once again '*N/A'*, followed by '*never'* and *'all the time',* both at the same level (18.8%). Considering a mean score of all categories of interlocutors, participants tended to use the L1 more (M = 2.83, SD= .91), rather than the LX (M = 2.55, SD = .94) for expressing love (figure 2b). Overall, 54.3% of participants reported expressing love with any interlocutor mainly in the L1; 13.7% reported using the L1 and the LX equally and 32.1% reported using the LX more frequently than the L1.

Figure 2b

Differences between L1 and LX use for love expression with all interlocutor mean scores



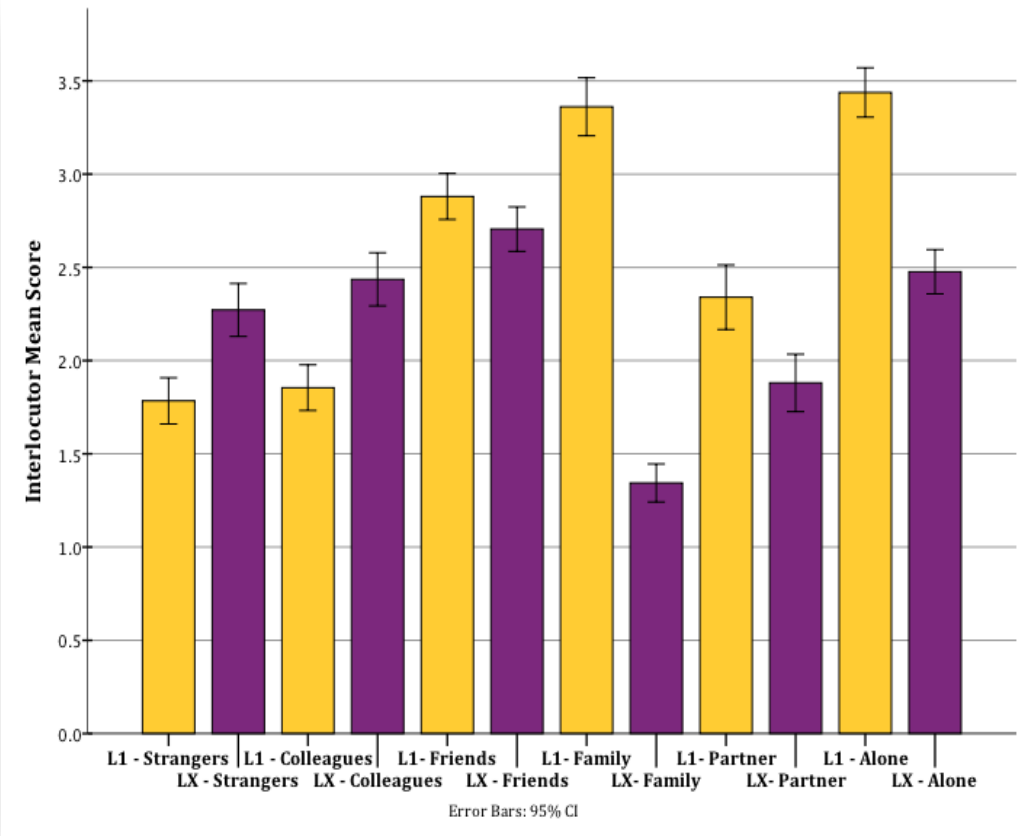
IV.2.1.3. Swearing in the L1 and the LX

Feedback on the last couple of grid questions examining participants' swearing practices was coded in the same way. According to responses, participants tended to use the LX more frequently than the L1 when swearing both with strangers (M L1 = 1.78, SD = 1.36 and M LX = 2.27, SD = 1.56) and colleagues (M L1 = 1.85, SD = 1.35 and M LX = 2.44, SD = 1.56). As happened with anger and love expression, the perspective changes with more familiar interlocutors (figure 3a). Indeed, respondents progressively shifted towards a higher use of the L1 when swearing with friends (M L1 = 2.88, SD = 1.36 and M LX = 2.71 SD = 1.31), family (M L1=3.36, SD=1.71 and M LX = 1.34 SD =

1.12), partners (M L1 = 2.34, SD=1.91 and M LX = 1.88 SD = 1.69) and alone (M L1 = 3.44, SD = 1.46 and M LX = 2.48 SD = 1.31).

Figure 3a

Differences between L1 and LX use for swearing mean scores for single categories of interlocutors

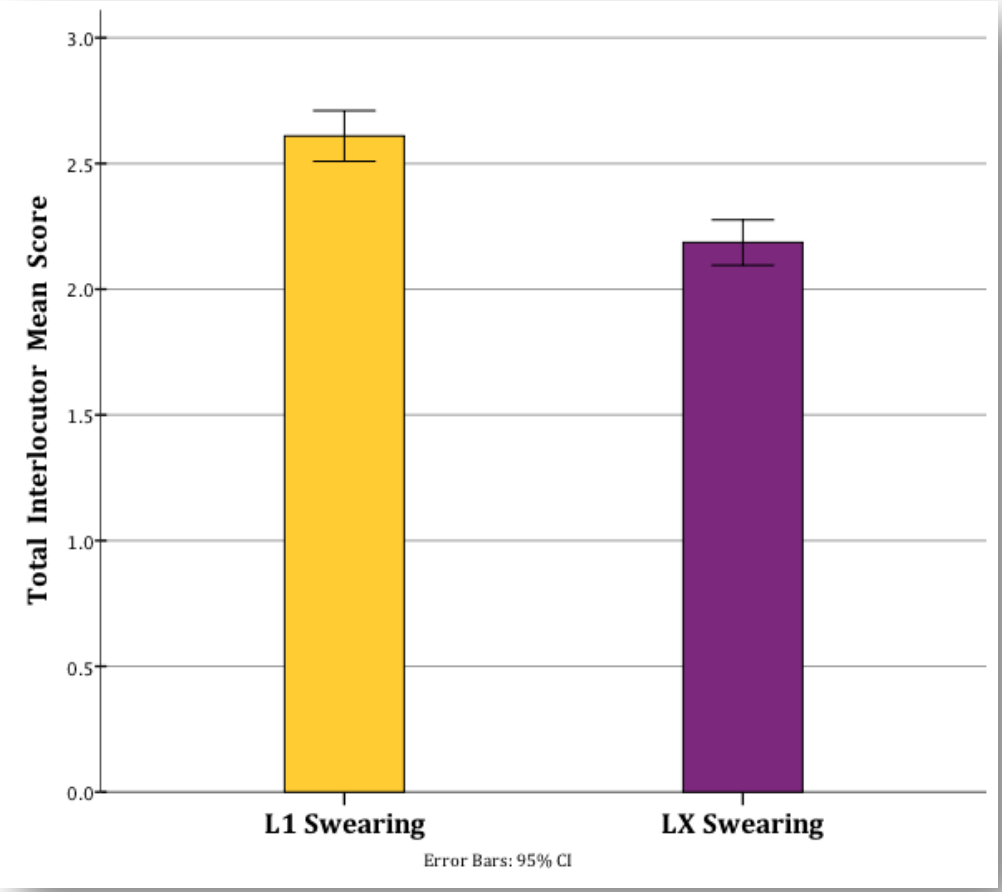


Looking at frequencies, 40.4% and 34.8% of participants respectively reported never using the L1 to swear with strangers and colleagues, 30.1% reported using the L1 to swear with friends on some occasions, 38.2% reported using the L1 all the time when swearing with their family members and, finally, 28.8% reported using the L1 for swearing alone frequently or all the time. In the same vein as the results mentioned above, the question about swearing with partners showed more distributed answers, where the most common answer was once again *'N/A'*, followed by *'all the time'* (19.7%).

Considering LX use, 20.9% and 19.9% of participants respectively reported never or moderately using their LX when swearing with strangers, 21.8% and 33.1% respectively reported swearing in the LX with colleagues and friends on some occasions, 53.2% claimed to never use the LX when swearing with their family members and, finally, 32.9% stated they sometimes used the LX when swearing alone.

Figure 3b

Differences between L1 and LX use for swearing with all interlocutor mean scores



Once again, informants mainly responded *'N/A'* or *'never'* (19.4%) when answering the question about swearing with a partner. Considering a mean score of all categories of interlocutors, participants tended to use the L1 more (M = 2.61, SD = 1.11), rather than the LX (M = 2.19, SD = .99), for

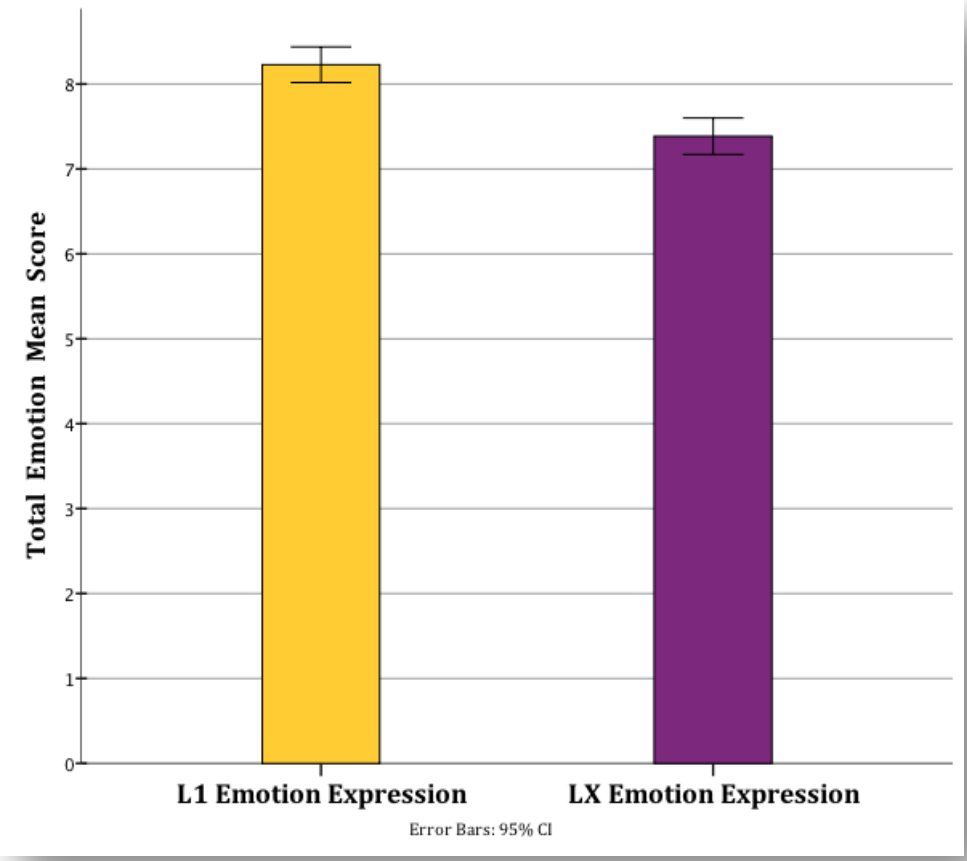
swearing (figure 3b). Overall 57.9% of participants preferred to swear in their native language; 17.1% stated that they used the L1 and the LX equally to swear with any interlocutor and 25% of respondents reported using the LX more frequently than the L1 for this purpose.

IV.2.1.4. Elaborating a unique variable

As mentioned in the previous chapter, all linguistic variables related to emotion expression have been summed up in a total score, according to language use: 'L1 Emotion Expression' and 'LX Emotion Expression'.

Figure 4

Differences between L1 and LX use for emotion expression with all interlocutors mean scores



The purpose was to produce a composite variable able to give an indication of participants' affective socialisation within the heritage and host society. In other words, the emotion expression variables measure the frequency of use of a language for expressing emotions on the basis of both migrants' choice and available network of interlocutors. Overall, participants tended to use their L1 (M = 8.23, SD = 2.32) to express different kinds of emotions with any interlocutor more frequently than the LX (M = 7.38, SD = 2.36), as displayed in figure 4. Looking at frequencies, 60% of informants reported using the L1 to express emotions or swear with any interlocutor; 1.1% reported using both languages equally, while 38.9% reported using the LX to express emotions of different kinds with any interlocutor. It is important to bear in mind that these percentages indicate not only participants' personal preference for a specific language but also the degree of migrants' affective interaction with the heritage and host society.

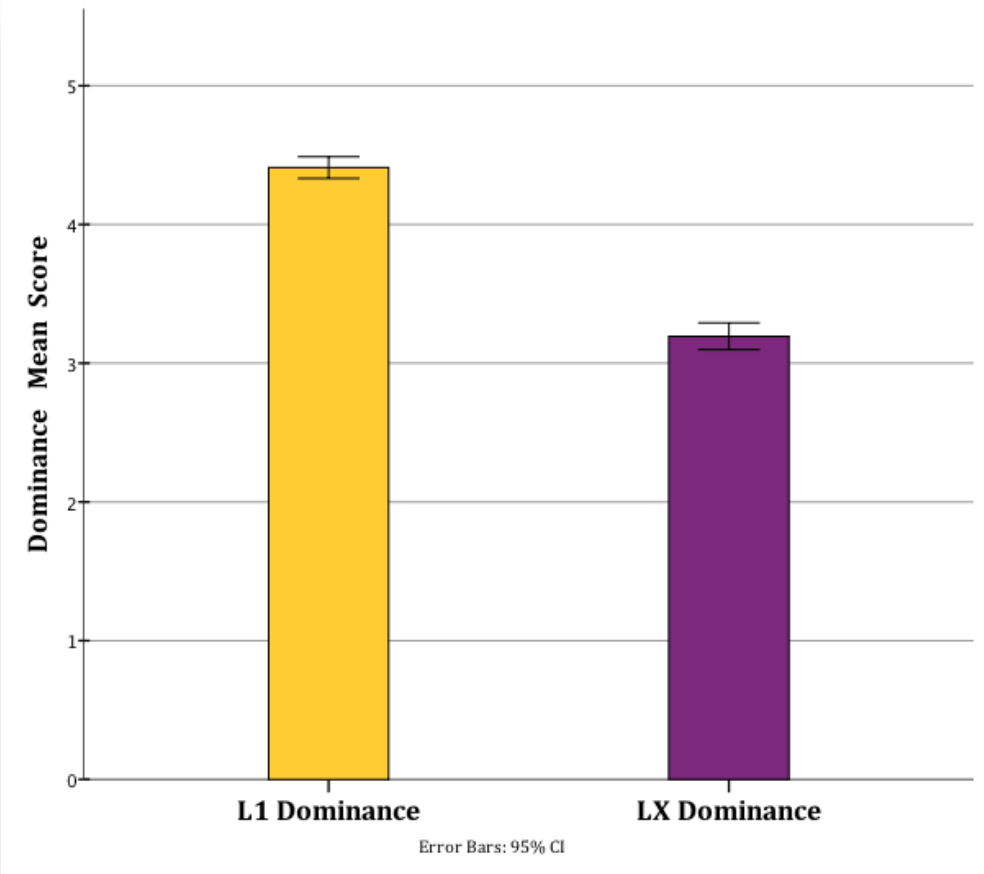
In the first analytic thread L1 and LX Emotion Expression will be considered as dependent variables, while in the second and the last part of the analysis they will be considered as independent variables.

IV.2.2. Language Dominance

Considering L1 and LX dominance scores, participants mostly tended to perceive their L1 as their dominant language (M = 4.41, SD = .857), while a few of them indicated the LX as dominant in their life and in their cognitive operations (M = 3.19, SD = 1.06), as displayed in figure 5.

Figure 5

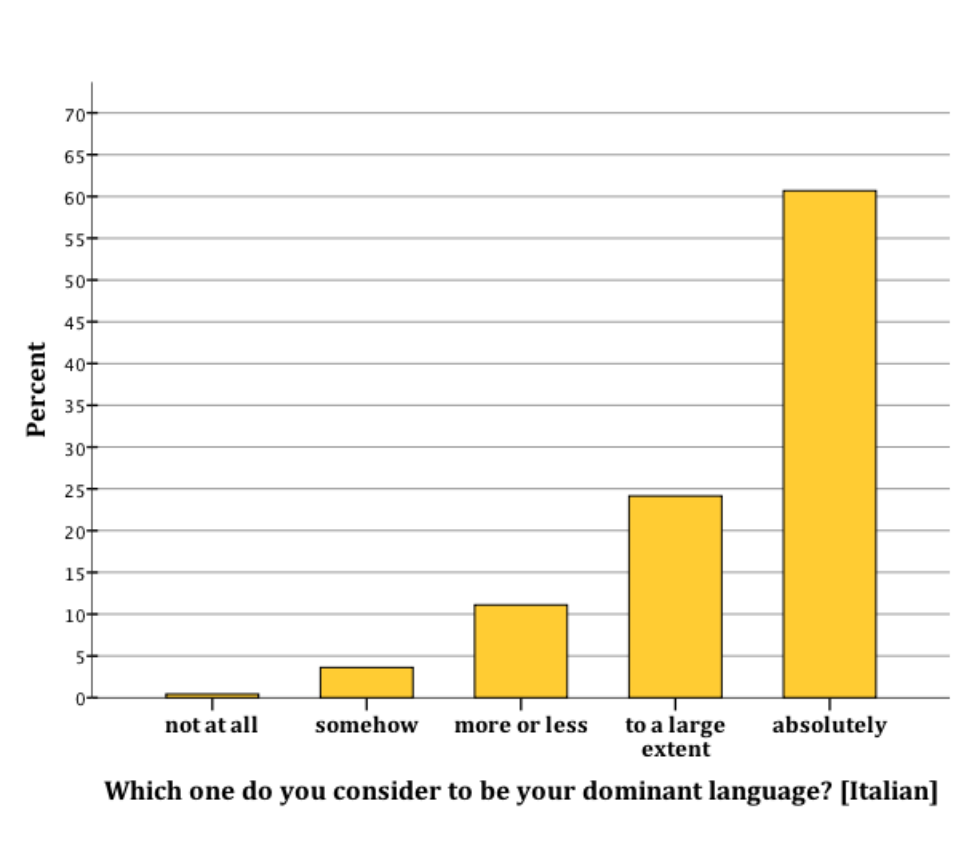
Difference between L1 and LX Dominance mean scores



By looking at frequencies, 60.7% participants reported the L1 as their absolute dominant language (figure 6a), whereas 39.8% and 39.2% respectively reported perceiving their LX as dominant most of the time or at least on some occasions (figure 6b).

Figure 6a

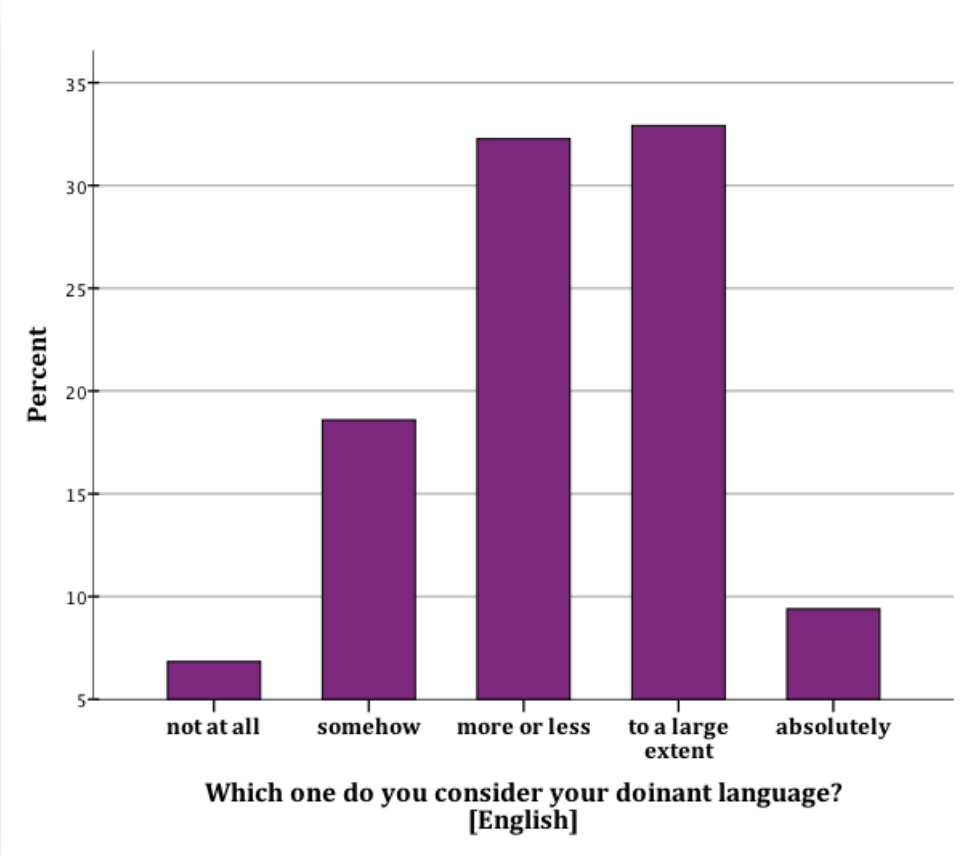
Percentage of L1 dominant language responses



Language dominance will be considered as a dependent variable in the first pattern of analysis and as an independent variable in the second and the last pattern of analysis.

Figure 6b

Percentage of LX dominant language responses



IV.2.3. Feeling Different when using the LX

IV.2.3.1. Feeling Different when using the LX with Interlocutors

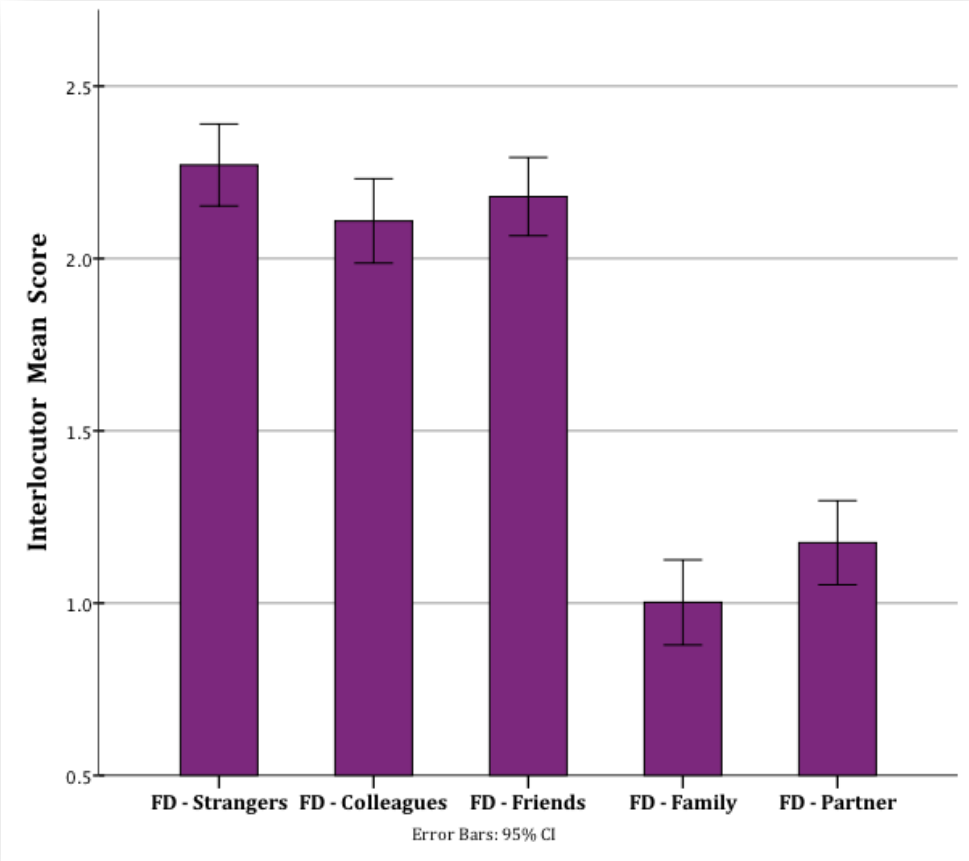
The survey included two questions enquiring about migrants' sense of feeling different while using the LX with different interlocutors or to discuss different matters[16]. According to responses (figure 7a), informants tended to feel different mostly when using LX with strangers (M = 2.27, SD = 1.3); slightly less when talking to colleagues (M = 2.11, SD = 1.3) and friends (M =

[16] See Appendix II

2.18, SD = 1.3) and they reported not feeling different when operating in LX with family (M = 1.00, SD = 1.4) or partners (M = 1.18, SD = 1.3).

Figure 7a

Difference between feeling different when using LX with different interlocutors mean scores

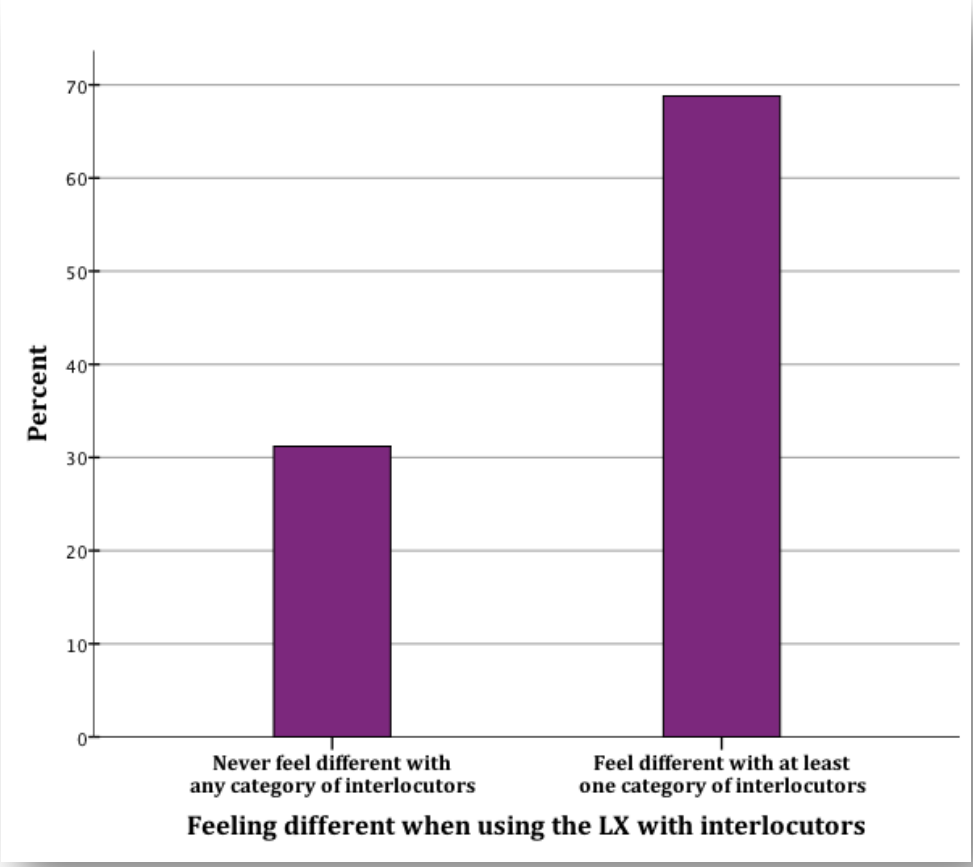


By looking at frequencies, 38.5%, 35.7% and 37% of participants respectively said they never feel different when talking in LX to strangers, colleagues and friends. The situation is slightly dissimilar in terms of family and partner categories as in both cases the '*N/A*' rate highly increased, where 49.1% stated they do not have any relative who can speak English and 28.4% answered they never feel different when using LX with their family. In terms of partners – excluding participants that do not have a partner – 32.3% answered they never feel different when speaking LX with their partner. Once

again, a mean score was computed in order to elaborate a unique score measuring the sense of feeling different with interlocutors. The resulting mean score was quite low (M = 1.75, SD= .91); however, it is important to mention that 68.8% of participants stated feeling different when using the LX to talk to at least one category of interlocutors (figure 7b).

Figure 7b

Percentage of participants who reported to feel different when using the LX with different interlocutors

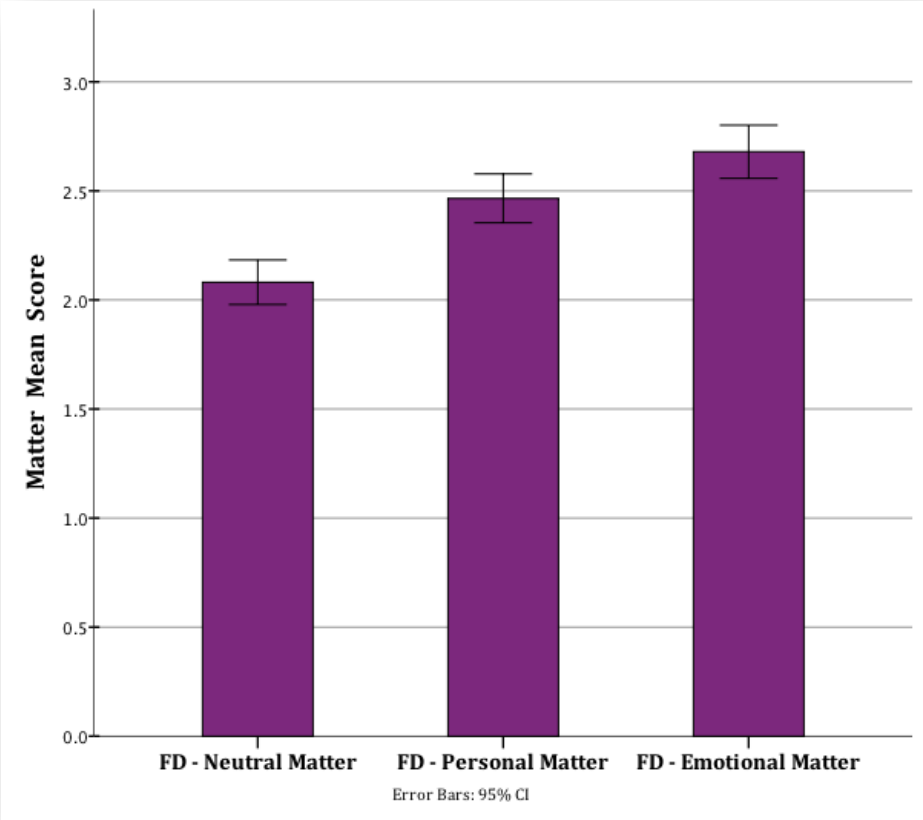


Indeed, 322 participants out of 468 said they feel different when using LX at least with one category of interlocutors and only 146 claimed they never feel different when using LX with any interlocutor.

IV.2.3.2. Feeling Different when using the LX for different matters

Considering the second question, responses were coded in the same way as before. In this case, mean scores monotonically increased according to the matter (figure 8a). Indeed, participants stated that they felt progressively more different when using the LX to talk about a neutral matter (M = 2.08, SD = 1.1), a personal matter (M = 2.47, SD = 1.2) and an emotional matter (M = 2.68, SD = 1.3).

Figure 8a
Difference between feeling different when using LX for different matter mean scores

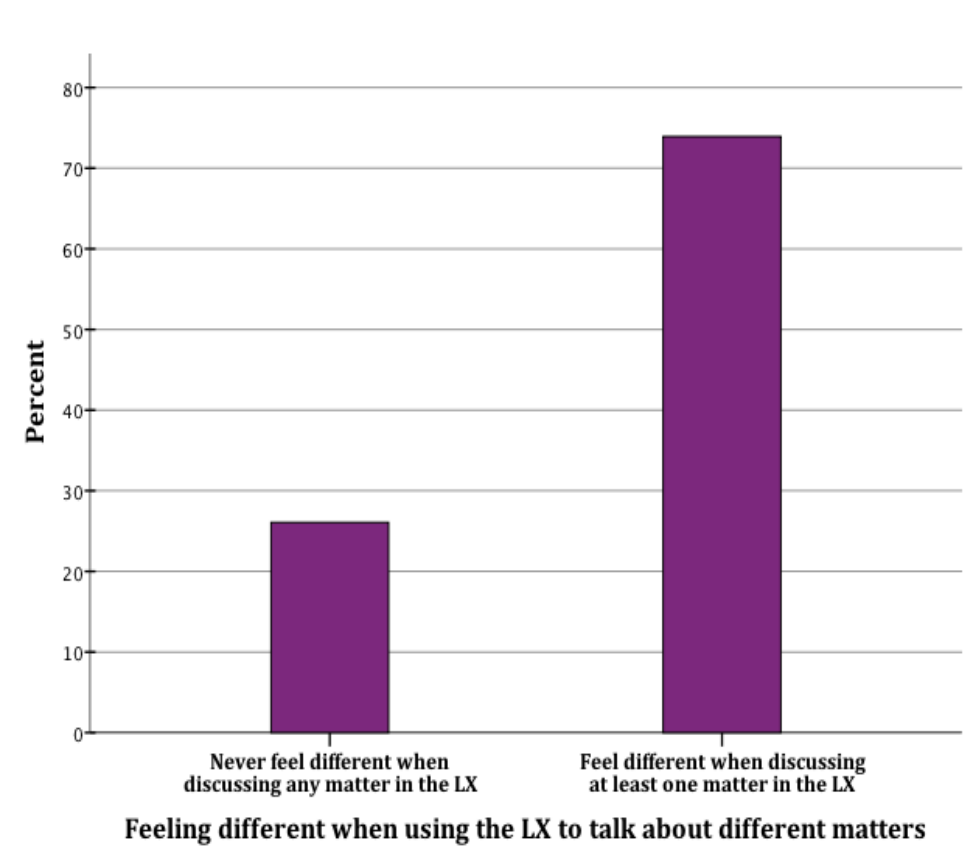


However, by looking at frequencies, 40.4% of participants stated they never feel different when talking about a neutral matter using the LX; 35.7%

reported that they sometimes feel different when using the LX to talk about a personal matter, and finally, 28.4% said they never feel different when talking in LX about an emotional matter, followed by 26.5% of informants who claimed they sometimes feel different when facing the same circumstance.

Figure 8b

Percentage of participants who reported to feel different when using the LX to talk about different matters



The mean score of all matters (figure 8a) was higher compared to the interlocutor score (M = 2.41, SD = 1.12). Overall, 73.9% of participants reported feeling different when using the LX to talk about at least one matter from those listed (figure 8b). Both variables measuring migrants' sense of

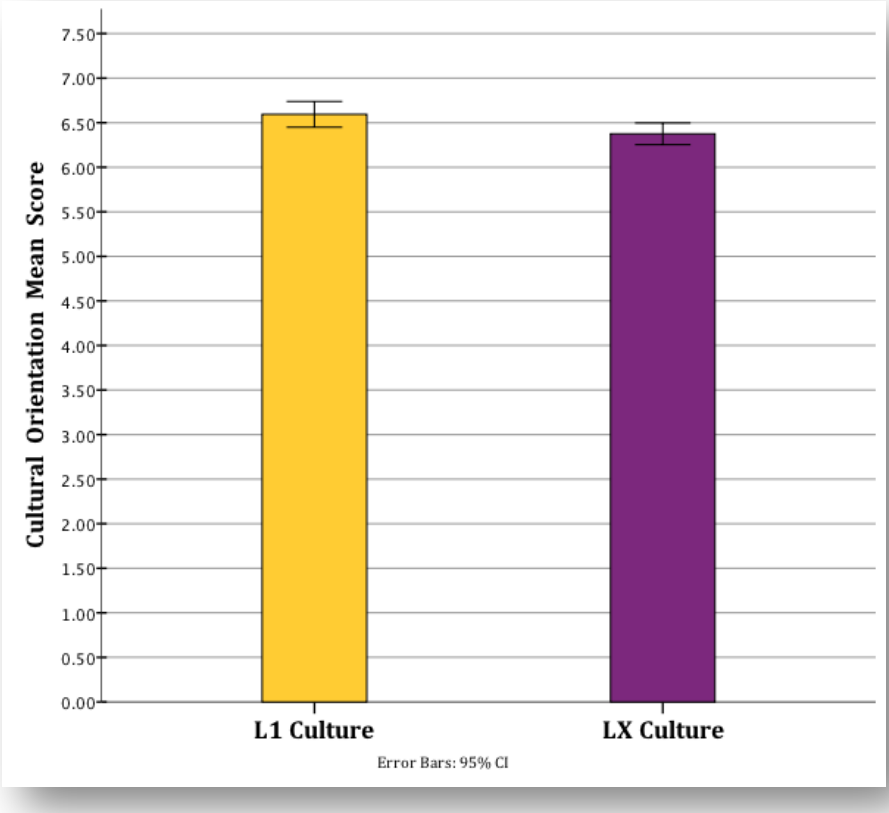
feeling different when using the LX will be used in the first framework of analysis only and will be considered as dependent variables.

IV.2.4. Cultural orientation

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) measures individuals' attachment to L1 and LX culture, generating two variables: L1 Acculturation and LX Acculturation. Each variable score was computed by calculating the mean of all single scores assigned by participants to the domains listed in the VIA. As shown in figure 9a, participants felt more oriented towards their L1 culture (M = 6.59, SD = 1.59), rather than their LX culture (M = 6.38, SD = 1.34).

Figure 9a

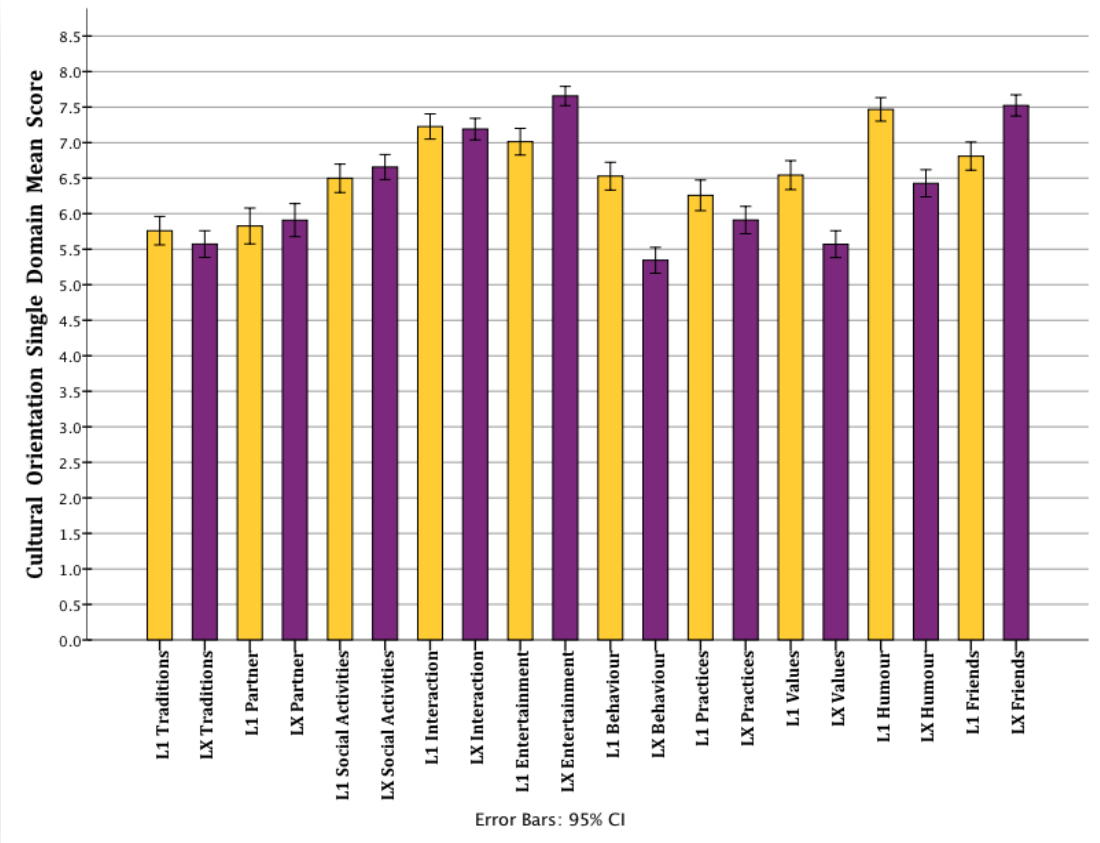
Difference between L1 and LX Cultural Orientation Total scores



Looking at frequencies, 58.5% of participants felt more attached to their heritage culture, 2.1 % stated that they feel equally oriented towards both cultural scenarios and 39.3% reported that they feel more attached to the culture of the country they were living in at the moment of the test.

Figure 9b

Difference between L1 and LX Cultural Orientation Single Domains scores



Considering that the VIA uses a 9-point scale, among the statements focusing on L1 culture '*I enjoy jokes and the humour of my heritage culture*' was the one which obtained on average the highest score (M = 7.47, SD = 1.83), whereas '*I often participate in my heritage culture traditions*' received the lowest (M = 5.76, SD = 2.20). On the other hand, looking at the LX culture, '*I enjoy host culture entertainment*' obtained on average the highest score (M =

7.66, SD = 1.50), while '*I often behave in ways that are typical of my host culture'* had the lowest score (M = 5.34, SD = 2.01). All mean scores for each single domain are illustrated in figure 9b.

Once again, the analysis will be carried out in different stages. Migrants' cultural orientations will be considered independent variables in the first and third threads of analysis and will be treated as dependent variables in the second pattern of analysis.

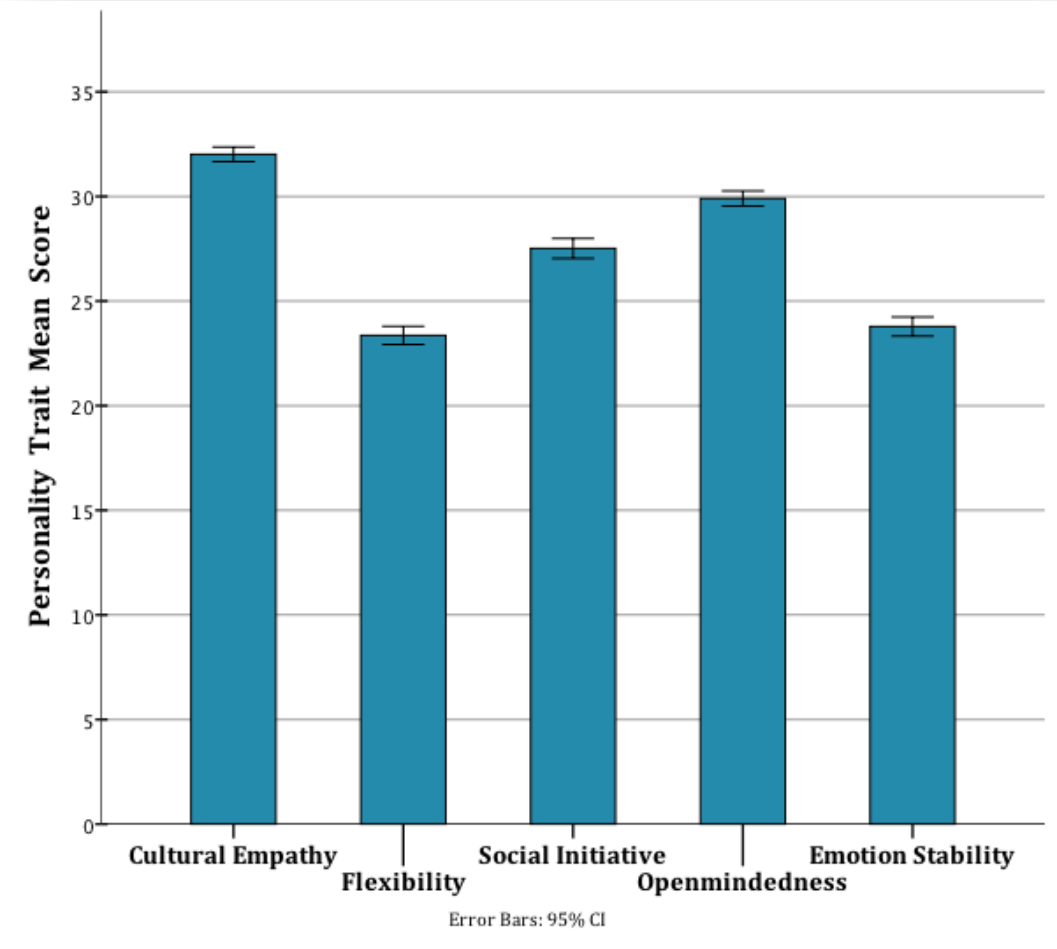
IV.2.5. Personality traits

The Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ) version used in the present research (van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, Ponterotto & Fietzer, 2013) consisted of 40 statements – each linked to a different trait – with which participants could agree/disagree on a 5-point Likert scale. Participants reported high mean scores for Cultural Empathy (M = 32.01, SD = 3.81), Social Initiative (M = 27.51, SD = 5.38) and Openmindedness traits (M = 29.90, SD = 3.99); and lower mean scores for Flexibility (M = 23.36, SD = 4.77) and Emotional Stability traits (M = 23.78, SD = 5.05), as illustrated in figure 10.

In the first and second part of the analysis, all traits will be considered independent variables, while the last stage will see each trait as a dependent variable.

Figure 10

Personality Trait mean scores



IV.2.6. Final Remarks on Quantitative Data

Correlation and regression analyses will be used for measuring bi-directional relationships and mutual variance among all variables. This method has been inspired by a study conducted by Dewaele & Tsui Shan Ip (2013). In order to decide whether to use parametric or non-parametric analysis, a normality test has to be performed. Since variables are alternatively considered as both dependent and independent, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for normality was discarded. A first glance at correlation analyses indicated identical results with Pearson and Spearman's

test, with only small differences in terms of *p*-values. These findings suggested data were nearly normally or uniformly distributed. Therefore, parametric analysis has been selected as the one allowing a higher level of accuracy (Field, 2000).

There are several assumptions to verify before performing regression analysis, which will be illustrated in detail below. Firstly, variables must be continuous – in this instance, they were all ratio or interval variables – and observations need to be independent (Blant, 2007). Independence essentially means that the observations are not acted on by an outside influence common to several of the observations. Considering the sample size, the ratio between independent variables and cases should ideally be around 20 when response variables are skewed or uncertain. The present research counts 11 independent variables and 468 participants; hence, over 40 records per explanatory variable (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). Furthermore, in order to use linear regression, the relationship between variables must be linear and there should be no significant outliers (Field, 2000). An outlier is an observed data point that has a dependent variable value that is very different to the value predicted by the regression equation. As such, an outlier will be a point on a scatterplot as far away from the regression line indicating that it has a large residual. Outliers can have a considerable impact on the regression and their inclusion needs thus to be carefully checked. Both linearity and outliers can be checked using scatterplots and graphs that will accompany each analysis conducted. Regression analysis also requires little or no collinearity among predictors. In other words, all predictor variables should not be highly correlated. Collinearity diagnostics were run in order to

show that autocorrelation minimally occurred and was not an issue in the current study (Szmrecsanyi, 2005). Another crucial assumption for regression analysis is that errors need to be independent, or uncorrelated. The lag-plot of the residuals is used to verify whether or not the errors are independent. Indeed, if they are, there should be no pattern of structure in the lag-plot and points should appear to be randomly scattered (Field, 2000; Larson-Hall, 2016). In the present study, lag-plots and Durbin-Watson's analysis were used in order to verify whether residuals were uncorrelated. All tests proved that residuals were not linearly auto-correlated, reporting acceptable Durbin-Watson's values always included between 1 and 3 (Field, 2000: 874). Furthermore, data needs to show homoscedasticity, meaning that the residual variances along the line of best fit must remain similar along its length (Field, 2000). Finally, the residuals need to be approximately normally distributed (Field, 2000; Larson-Hall, 2016). Normality probability plots to examine the residual distribution and equivalence of variances (homoscedasticity) accompanied each regression analysis and were computed by plotting the sorted values of the residual versus the associated theoretical values from the standard normal distribution. When observing these plots, if residuals are normally distributed, all points will lie close to a straight line. Curvature or deviations from a straight line indicate that residuals are not normally distributed and thus that the assumption is not met (Field, 2000). Considering lag-plots, points need to be randomly scattered and the 'line of best fit' needs to lie as flat as possible (Field, 2000).

Overall, normality probability plot displayed acceptable results with only few borderline cases that will be announced. Graphs, plots and tests will

accompany tables throughout the analysis in order to show the assumptions were met. Finally, it is important to mention that only statistically significant results will be considered. Regression results will be addressed and extensively discussed, also distinguishing each variable single contribute to the total amount of variance.

IV.3. Qualitative Descriptive Analysis

IV.3.1. Open question insights

Overall, 303 participants answered the open question enquiring about the sense of feeling different when using the LX. Respondents provided insights, which have been categorised according to the relevant themes directly emerging from their narratives. In this instance, four main categories emerged, counting fifteen sub-categories in total. Commonly, participants focused on their negative emotions while using the LX, highlighting their stronger emotive attachment to the L1 or referring to a sense of emotional constraint, frustration, detachment or mentioning reasons they could not fully explain. Several responses also focused on personality, mostly emphasising either a sense of deep alienation or a general influence of the LX on their profile, but also celebrating – in some instances – the enrichment of having a multilingual identity. Furthermore, participants discussed socio-cultural aspects related to their sense of feeling different when using the LX, often commenting on humour or emotions. Finally, a less frequent thread was the experience of positive feelings, either linked to the idea that the LX creates a comfortable form of protection, able to shield the real self, or to the discovery of innovative ways of voicing intimate feelings. Each subcategory,

together with the frequency of appearance, is presented in detail in table 2 (Appendix I) and was included in the study by Panicacci & Dewaele (2017a).

Migrants' comments, believed to be relevant to the analysis, will be reported in qualitative sections. Names were anonymised in accordance with respondents' preferences.

IV.3.2. Interview insights

Five semi-structured interviews followed the quantitative data collection. In the analysis of transcripts, six main codes and twenty sub-codes have been generated, according to the relevant themes, directly emerging from migrants' voices (table 3c – Appendix I). The largest category – counting 540 insights – focused on socio-cultural aspects and incorporated candidates' attachment to heritage or host culture and language, their comments on humour and on their network of relationships within the LX society and, finally, their appreciation of LX culture emotion expression practices. A second main category – counting a total of 202 insights – focused on language and emotion perceptions. This category included participants' comments about their sense of constraint or frustration when expressing feelings in the LX and their linguistic perceptions ranging from the gratification of expressing emotions in the LX up to the attachment to the L1 as the unique language of the heart. Another category – counting 156 insights – was centred on migrants' identity and included their sense of alienation and struggle in defining themselves, their perceiving a sort of identity transformation process, triggered by their experience in the new culture, and their desire to preserve some heritage facets in their new self. Indeed, personality change was another popular theme across the interviews.

In about 142 insights candidates discussed the effects of speaking a new language, living in a new culture and having different emotions patterns on their identities. A category specifically considering migration has been created and centred on personal attitudes that favoured integration and on individuals' emotional experiences related to migration (104 insights). Finally, the last code identified in the interviews –counting 91 insights – focused on migrants' sense of leading a double life between languages and cultures. A more detailed description of interview codes and sub-codes is provided in table 3c (Appendix I).

All participants' profiles will be briefly introduced in the following sections (tables 3a, 3b – Appendix I). Names have been discretionally fictionalised according to the candidate's preferences.

IV.3.2.1. SG: the attraction to diversity

SG, 33, came from a small town, located in Central Italy, whose prestigious university attracts lots of visiting students and foreigners. He believed this was something that contributed to his interest in an experience abroad and his attraction to diversity. He always felt fascinated by London and visited the city on several occasions. He won a EU-sponsored internship to gain work experience abroad while he was still studying Communications in Italy and considered it a good chance to move to London in order to reunite with his Italian fiancée, who was already living there. At the time of migration he was 28 and he had never lived abroad before, he could not speak other languages and was pleased enough with his English proficiency. Notwithstanding the familiar connection with the city, he had a sort of traumatic migration experience. In the interview, he hilariously recalled

losing his mobile phone on the aircraft and switching his suitcase with someone else's at the airport, finding himself completely alone at the airport with only Euros in his pockets and no way of contacting anybody. He confessed he felt very stressed and tense. Eventually, he permanently settled in London, but confessed missing his home country at times, including the relaxed life style people have there. He had no family in the UK and regretted not having many local friends. However, being attracted to different cultures and backgrounds, he expressed a strong craving for social interactions with other migrants, motivated by a sense of commonality he perceived with them.

IV.3.2.2. DP: a story of 'migration non-migration'

DP, 45, came from a small village in the Dolomites, close to the Austrian border. She said she had always been exposed to languages and migration and grew up with the idea that boundaries are flexible. In particular, she largely focused on the pattern of migration present in her family history. Her father came from Friuli – an area characterised by a peculiar multilingualism and multiculturalism, while her mother was born in Croatia, when it stilled belonged to Italy. Fascism forced her mother's family to migrate to Italy, leaving all their properties and belongings. She defined her mother's life as a struggling story of "*migration non-migration",* similar to what she confessed she experienced in the UK, where she could not have survived without re-creating an Italian environment around her. She could also speak German, French and Spanish, which she stated that she used regularly, and she previously lived in Heidelberg and Bamberg for about two years. She studied Philosophy and Literature in Italy, Modern Languages in Germany and she obtained an MSc in Psychotherapy in London. Her Master

was the initial reason for her migration to the UK. At that time, she moved to London with a scholarship and a strong intention to go back to Italy after her studies. Once she graduated, she got offered a job and agreed on staying another year before meeting her future husband. In her interview, she described her migration experience as a hard psychological process where she struggled a lot with her identity. When, after a sad event in her life that brought her back to Italy, she decided to move back to London, it was the voluntary decision she had been missing and postponing for years since graduation. She eventually got married to a British man and had a son, who represented a kind of shift in her life that guided her towards settling in the UK more permanently. Despite that, she intensely refused to be naturalised. DP filled her life with Italian culture: she had previously worked for the Italian Cultural Institute, she ran the Italian Department at a prestigious college and she has been teaching Italian for several years. Her husband loved Italian culture and could speak Italian fluently. Both of them spoke exclusively Italian at home and her son surprisingly learnt English only at school when he was 3 and when his Italian was already fully established. She deliberately reconstructed her Italian identity and considers hers as an international family, living in between cultures.

IV.3.2.3. FF: the crave for a culturally vibrant environment

FF, 42, had lived in London since she was 29. She left Italy and her Italian family when she was 24 and also lived in Spain, France and Belgium. She had a MA in International Law & Human Rights and always traveled a lot. She met her British husband when she was in Brussels and he was visiting Belgium, but she explained her love relationship was not the main reason

behind her migration to London. Indeed, she was craving an experience in a more vibrant and culturally diverse perspective so she asked to be transferred from Brussels to London.

FF had well established her life in the UK and recently applied for British citizenship in order to take part in local politics, but she admitted not being really happy with living in a monarchy. FF had a 5-year old son to whom she exclusively spoke Italian, which he grasped fluently. She wants him to clearly understand which part of his family is Italian and which one is British. Besides English and Italian, she could speak French, Spanish and Portuguese, which she practiced sporadically with friends and colleagues. Part of her husband's family has Egyptian origins, and she confessed this is something that helped her to integrate in the new environment as she saw it as a strong reason to maintain her Mediterranean heritage.

IV.3.2.4. FB: an emotional migration

FB, 35, introduced herself as 'Fed' – as her local friends named her. She came from a small town in Northern Italy and lived in Chester at the time of the interview, where she worked as a psychotherapist. She had also lived in Liverpool, Bath and occasionally in London, but she described Somerset as her ideal environment, the place where she always wanted to be and where her most special memories were. She came from fully Italian parents, who never left the town where they were born. However, she acknowledged there was a sort of migration pattern in her family. Her dad's mother moved from Pantelleria –a small island in deep Southern Italy- to Northern Italy, while her mother's family moved to Switzerland and lived there for over 20 years. She described her experience as a gradual migration. She fell in love with the

United Kingdom when she was sixteen and always wanted to have an experience abroad. She started a course in London in 2008, where she was commuting from Italy for only a few days a year. She made good friends in the new country and, with their support, she found a job and a house in the same town as one of her best friends. She thus moved to England at the age of 29, with everything settled, in a place that already felt like home. She recalled everything had been accurately planned in advance so she knew exactly what to expect, where she wanted to be and what she wanted to have. She admitted feeling more nostalgic when moving away from Bath, where she had her first migration experience, than from Italy.

FB recently started a relationship with a British-Welsh person who does not speak Italian and in her interview hilariously mentioned her partner's mother unfortunate joke about her accent not sounding Italian on their first meeting. She confessed feeling in tune with British values and extremely well settled in the UK, but at the same time, being an only child, she deeply missed her family in Italy.

IV.3.2.5. LF: the love for English language

LF, 28, had been in love with the English language since early age and remembered speaking a sort of 'mock-English' when she was a kid. She had always been travelling a lot to London and moved back and forth for a whole year when she was 17. She enrolled in Italy to study Foreign Languages but she realised she could not study English the way she wanted. Hence, she applied for a BA in Drama and English at a London university at the age of 19. At that time she was very young and carefree, so did not consider all the implications that migrating would involve. Once she got accepted at the

university, she was thrilled, but the impact of living in a new culture made her sort of depressed for a whole year. Despite her advanced proficiency, she feared not being able to speak properly or not fitting in with the culture she deeply loved. She eventually obtained an MA in Creative Writing and recently started a PhD while working as a writer and a freelance translator. LF admitted visiting Italy quite often and usually spending the whole summertime there. She recently got together with someone from her hometown, regaining contact with her roots and feeling grounded in her hometown again. She acknowledged she started feeling a bit nostalgic, but at the same time, she confessed feeling heart-broken whenever she was not surrounded by the English language. She claimed she did not feel like a migrant anymore, as she felt like she had a mixed-cultural identity which can only live in between these two worlds.

IV.3.3. Final remarks on qualitative data

Qualitative data will be presented along with quantitative data. Each paragraph will display statistical results first and qualitative insights separately, in order to explain and illustrate results and guide the discourse around statistical findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011: 6). This method of presentation of findings was largely inspired by Creswell and Plano Clark (2007, 2010, 2011) and was adopted by Dewaele and MacIntyre's study (2014).

Furthermore, it is important to mention that only a few sections from the open question insights and interview narratives were in Italian and only three short passages have been used for the analysis. Hence, given that the use of Italian in migrants' sections was minimal, all sections have been

translated by the researcher and have been reported both in the original language and in English.

The display of findings will trace the three frameworks of analysis presented in the previous chapter: the linguistic, the cultural and the personality frameworks (sections: III.2.5.1., III.2.5.2., III.2.5.3.). A final section will bring all the results together, taking into consideration each hypothesis at a time (section II.7.2.), so as to clarify whether it was confirmed. A more in-depth discussion of findings and their connection to literature and previous studies will be presented in chapter V.

IV.4. Linguistic Findings

This thread of analysis aimed at verifying to what extent participants' attitudes in terms of language choice for expressing emotions, self-reported language dominance and self-perceptions when using the LX changed with their cultural orientation and personality profiles. In this first stage of analysis, migrants' L1 and LX use for expressing emotions, L1 and LX self-reported dominance and sense of feeling different when using the LX with different interlocutors or for different matters were the dependent variables, while their L1 and LX culture orientation and personality traits (Cultural Empathy, Flexibility, Social Initiative, Openmindedness and Emotional Stability) were the independent variables.

IV.4.1. Language choice for expressing emotions

IV.4.1.1. Emotion Expression in the L1 and LX in Statistical Analysis

Pearson's Correlation analyses were performed in order to investigate the links between the following variables: L1 and LX Emotion Expression, L1 and LX Acculturation and all personality traits (Cultural Empathy, Flexibility, Social Initiative, Openmindedness and Emotional Stability). Results are illustrated in table 4 (Appendix I). In order to avoid Type I errors, Bonferroni corrections were applied, lowering the α level by dividing the desired threshold ($p < .05$) by the number of tests being performed (Loewen & Plonsky, 2015: 14). Having performed 7 tests per dependent variable, the significance threshold was set to: $p < .007$. Correlation analyses indicated that participants' L1 use for expressing emotions with different interlocutors was positively linked to their sense of belonging to the L1 culture ($r = .278$, $p < .000$). It is crucial to point out that this item does not state the causal direction of the relationship, but simply measures its occurrence. Results thus indicated that there was a connection between migrants' use of the L1 when expressing personal and intimate feelings and their attachment to the L1 culture aspects and values.

Likewise, a positive correlation emerged between the LX use for expressing emotions and informants' attachment to the LX culture ($r = .311$, $p < .000$). Therefore, participants who reported extensively using the LX for expressing emotions with different interlocutors were also strongly oriented towards LX culture, showing appreciation for LX typical values, norms, social activities and practices. This second finding completed the picture of

migrants' language choice for expressing emotions and their culture orientation. Not surprisingly, migrants' emotion expression patterns seemed to go together with their understanding and appreciation of the cultural practices that produced them. Indeed, the extensive use of a specific language for expressing personal feelings could be a sign of a deep affective socialisation with that specific community and thus a higher level of engagement with socio-cultural practices of that society. It is important to note that both emotion variables were exclusively linked to the correspondent cultural variables. In other words, no correlation emerged between migrants' L1 use for expressing emotions and LX culture attachment or between migrants' LX use for expressing emotions and L1 culture attachment. This important outcome confirmed the idea that languages and cultures can plainly coexist in migrants' minds. Indeed, choosing a specific language to express personal feelings does not necessary imply it being a substitute for the other languages spoken. Similarly, the act of embracing new cultural horizons does not aim at replacing all other cultural practices previously established. In other words, this evidence supported the assumption that host culture and language were not to be considered as substitutes of heritage culture and language, and vice versa.

Considering personality traits, Pearson's analyses revealed a significant negative correlation between L1 use for expressing emotions and Flexibility ($r = -.132$, $p < .004$) and Emotional Stability ($r = -.161$, $p <. 000$). On the other hand, LX use for emotion expression was positively linked to all other personality traits: Cultural Empathy ($r = .146$, $p < .002$), Social Initiative ($r = .198$, $p < .000$) and Openmindedness ($r = .194$, $p < .000$). All

correlations are included in table 4 (Appendix I). The use of L1 and LX for expressing emotion inversely related to different dimensions of migrants' profiles. Specifically, the use of the L1 for expressing emotions showed a negative link with their flexibility and ability to handle emotional stress, while the use of the LX for the same purpose was positively related to migrants' social and cultural skills and their unprejudiced attitude towards novelty and diversity. In other words, migrants who were less flexible and more emotionally controlled also tended to remain strongly attached to the practices, values and traditions, typical of their heritage. On the contrary, those participants who appeared more sociable, unprejudiced and attracted by culturally vibrant environments were keener to appreciate host culture values and customs. It is important to mention that L1 Emotion Expression and LX Emotion Expression did not show any similar correlation but an independent set of different correlates. In other words, they did not relate to the same personality traits.

On the basis of correlation results, multiple linear regression analyses were conducted, with the purpose of exploring the joint effect of personality and cultural orientation on emotion expression in the L1 and the LX. Firstly, a multiple regression analysis was computed in order to find out how much variance in migrants' L1 use for emotion expression (the dependent variable) could be explained by their attachment for the L1 culture and by the personality traits reporting significant correlations with the dependent variable (Flexibility and Emotional Stability). L1 Acculturation and Emotional Stability were the only significant predictors of migrants' L1 use for expressing emotions with different interlocutors, explaining a total of

9.4 % of the variance (table 5). Though Flexibility was correlated to the criterion, it failed to reach the level of statistical significance. Considering all necessary assumptions to perform regression analysis, the value for the Durbin-Watson's test was between the threshold points of 1 and 3 and thus acceptable (Field, 2000: 874). Furthermore, collinearity diagnostics have been computed in order to verify whether there were multi-collinearity issues among the independent variables. Tolerance values close to zero indicate that the predictors are highly inter-correlated and that small changes in the data values may lead to large changes in the estimates of the coefficients. In this circumstance, tolerance values were all above the threshold of .20; suggesting that multi-collinearity was not an issue (Szmrecsanyi, 2005: 142). A scatterplot of residual values against residual predicted values showed that data was homoscedastic (figure 11). Indeed, variances along the line of best fit remained similar and points were equally distributed within the value |3|, showing that there were no significant outliers (Field, 2000). All necessary assumptions were thus met. Hence, regression results can be discussed further.

Table 5

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' L1 use for expressing emotions

Predictor(s)	**r2**	**F**	**p**	**β**	**Durbin-Watson**	**Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance**
L1 Acculturation	.075	37.90	.000	.278	2.216	1.000
L1 Acculturation and Emotional Stability	.092	23.66	.005	.260 -.125		.981 .981

Dependent variable: L1 Emotion Expression
Predictors: L1 Acculturation, Emotional Stability

Figure 11

Normality P-P Plot and homoscedasticity scatterplot

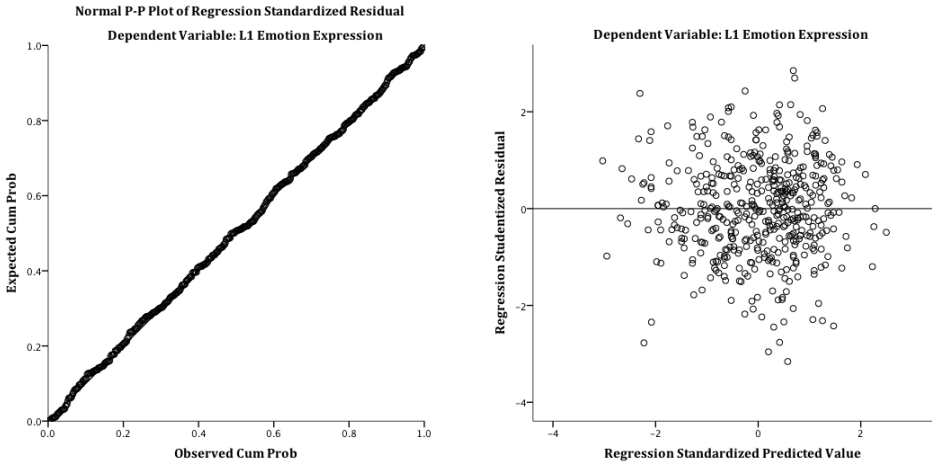


Table 5 shows the percentage of the variance of the criterion (L1 Emotion Expression) explained by the two significant predictors individually. The contribution of L1 Acculturation was relatively higher as this predictor alone explained 7.5% of the variance. In other words, participants' sense of belonging to the L1 culture was the main predictor of their L1 use for expressing emotions. Indeed, it is likely that migrants who are particularly connected to their culture of origin will be keener on maintaining a wider network of social relationships with individuals coming from their heritage culture, and will consequently have more chances to speak the L1 and express emotions in it. Furthermore, as qualitative data will show in more detail, most participants explained that they maintained intimate and affective relationship mainly with people who come from their heritage culture. This generally happened in those circumstances where young adult migrants did not create a family of their own in the host country or late migrants did not build any particularly strong affective relationships comparable to the childhood friendships they had in their home country. Indeed, statistical analysis showed that migrants' effort in maintaining their heritage practices

abroad probably determined higher levels of affective socialisation with compatriots and, ultimately, a higher frequency of use of the L1 for expressing intimate feelings. Qualitative data will also focus on how individuals' love for their original culture could lead them to consider their L1 as the unconditional language of the heart, the most emotional and thus the most suitable to express intimate feelings. Emotional Stability – in turn – had a small effect on L1 Emotion Expression. Participants' emotional anxiety and insecurity could lead them to persist in relying on the L1 to express their personal feelings as the language in which they feel more comfortable and secure. Migrants' comments and stories will illustrate this aspect more closely in the qualitative section.

Linear multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' LX use for emotion expression indicated LX Acculturation and Social Initiative as the only significant predictors, explaining a total of 11.8 % of the variance (table 6). All assumptions to perform regression analysis will be briefly discussed below. The Durbin-Watson's test result was 1.986, hence within the acceptable interval between the values of 1 and 3 (Field, 2000: 874).

Table 6

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' LX use for expressing emotions

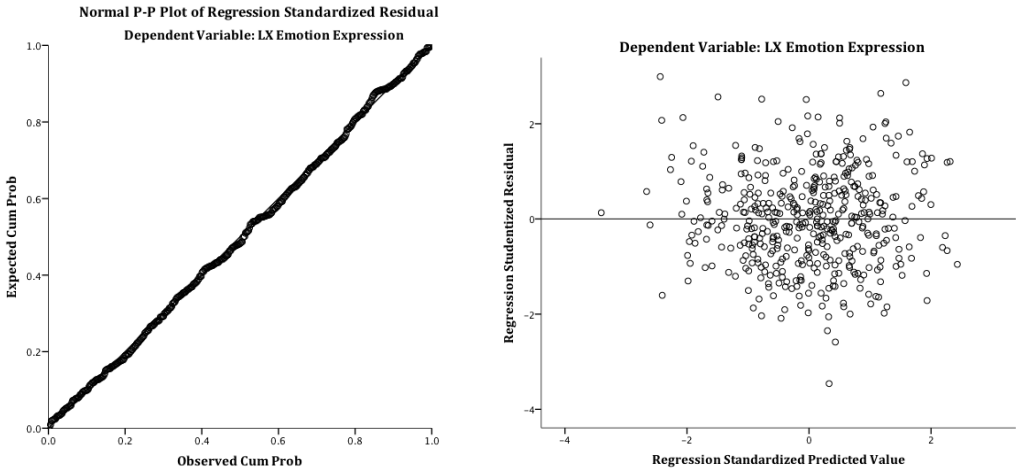
Predictor(s)	**r^2**	**F**	**p**	**β**	**Durbin-Watson**	**Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance**
LX Acculturation	.097	50.00	.000	.311		1.000
LX Acculturation and Social Initiative	.118	30.98	.000	.285	1.986	.967
				.146		.967

Dependent variable: LX Emotion Expression

Predictors: LX Acculturation, Social Initiative

Figure 12

Normality P-P Plot and homoscedasticity scatterplot



Furthermore, collinearity diagnostics reported tolerance eigenvalues were .967; suggesting that multi-collinearity did not occur (Szmrecsanyi, 2005: 142). A scatterplot of residual values against residual predicted values showed that data was homoscedastic (figure 12) and that points were equally distributed, without any significant outlier (Field, 2000). All assumptions were thus verified. Considering the percentage of variance of the criterion explained by the two broad variables individually, the contribution of Social Initiative was minimal (2.1%) compared to the contribution of LX Acculturation (9.7%). Once again, cultural aspects seemed to contribute more than personality traits to the use of a specific language for expressing emotions. Participants' attachment to host culture practices indeed oriented their choice towards LX use for expressing intimate feelings with different interlocutors. The effort spent in understanding new cultural values and taking over new cultural practices did turn into a higher frequency of use of the local language. Furthermore, it could be argued that the appreciation of social activities, sense of humour and forms of entertainment typical of the

host culture could inevitably lead migrants to mix with a wider network of LX interlocutors with whom they might eventually share their emotions. The effects of personality were not surprising, as the more sociable and talkative individuals appeared to be those who tended to express their feelings in the LX more frequently. It could be speculated that being outspoken and having more confidence in voicing personal feelings in general could also determine a higher use of the LX for the same purpose. Qualitative insight will illustrate the relationship between personality and emotion expression in more detail.

IV.4.1.2. Emotion expression in the L1 and LX in Migrants' Voices

Migrants' testimonies strongly supported statistical results, explaining in more depth the connection between language and culture. In the survey's open question, which enquired about the sense of feeling different when speaking the LX, a lot of participants commented on emotions, expressing their attachment for the L1 and thus motivating their extensive use of it to express their emotions:

> Giuseppe (male, 33, UK) "There are feelings and emotions that can be expressed only in my native language (even better, only in my native slang). When I have to express them in English it feels like I'm morphing them, I'm filtering them through the deforming lens of the foreign language."

In some instances, a strong emotional connection with the L1 gave participants the perception of being unable to achieve a truthful and authentic communication in the LX. Indeed, most participants expressed a sense of constraint when expressing emotions in the LX:

> CC (female, 54, UK): "The perception of feelings remains without its correspondence in words. The inability to represent themselves through words is like betraying them"

> DP (female, 45, UK): "English it's not the language of my emotions, of my unconscious, of my instinctive way of thinking"

When discussing the sense of frustration arising from the use of the LX in emotionally charged situations, a large number of reports emphasized the inadequacy of the LX to depict inner feelings:

> Silvia (female, 32, UK): "When I speak English, I feel like I'm trying to translate 'Italian' emotions [...] into my interpretations of British everyday meanings"

All these comments illustrate why migrants on average tended to prefer the L1 to express their inner feelings and also highlighted how migrants adopted precise emotional and cultural scripts when choosing one specific language. Sometimes, informants clearly pictured the LX shortfall in portraying intimate feelings as due to the fact that these feelings had been shaped by a different culture in the first place.

> MV (female, 37, US): "I do think that English may be colourful, rich and poetic, but often it offers pre-packaged expressions that do not fully describe my views or emotions. I guess the Italian language might have shaped those emotions in the first place..."

Considering their emotional preference for the L1, some informants focused on how their original cultural ties influenced their emotive perceptions:

> MM (female, 46, US): "When trying to express deep/intense emotional matters or strong opinions it can be harder to find the right word in a language, which is not 'mine'. It's the 'lost in translation' effect. I don't have a partner right now, but my previous two partners were English native speakers and at times it was hard for me to completely explain what was on my mind. This was not just due to a language difference, but also cultural differences, which made it harder to 'connect' on certain levels [...] it can still be a little frustrating"

Carrying on the consideration of migrants' attachment to the L1 language and consequent L1 use for emotion expression, qualitative data indicated that

specific sentences like the phrase 'I love you' could really be altered by language use:

> AM (female, 29, UK): "Saying 'I love you' in English is fine for me, but it feels as if I put a filter between me and that deep meaning. *Ti amo* has a totally different weight inside me"

Participants' poor emotional expression in the LX was highlighted by their lacking of relevant emotional scripts in the LX culture. In other words, LX emotion practices were not instilled in informants' behaviour; hence, LX emotion vocabulary sounded not much semantically grounded. In this perspective, some participants openly blamed the LX as lacking in emotional character:

> EN (female, 27, UK): "English is not a language to convey emotions"

> Giovanna (female, 24, US): "I feel like sometimes English words can't truly 'catch' the different 'colours' of my feelings"

> Arianna (female, 33, UK): "I feel stupid when trying to express personal and emotional things, because English is not a complex language like Italian, so often I can't find the right word to say something, not because I don't know the word, but just because there is no specific English word for it"

> ED (male, 32, US) "Italian language is definitely richer and more 'dramatic' than any English vernacular language"

The perception of a strong emotional mismatch made some participants very confused about their identity as migrants:

> DB (male, 40, Canada): "I feel that English language obliges the speaker to be more direct and objective. I don't think that is just a matter of knowledge, but the structure of the language gives less space for the ambiguity of the experience. In emotional matters, sometimes I fell I must make a decision in which 'state' I've to be to speak about it"

Undoubtedly, inherent inadequacy of the LX to express emotions is a popular theme across all qualitative findings analysed and could once again explain why informants generally tended to use the L1 for expressing emotions more frequently than the LX. A more detailed consideration of participants' perception of LX lack of emotionality will be presented in the section analysing migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX, as it emerged that the two aspects were deeply related (sections: IV.4.3.3 and IV.4.3.4.). To summarise, what surfaced from survey insights were a lot of testimonies supporting the connection between the attachment to the L1 and its extensive use for expressing feelings as the most appropriate tool for the purpose. A few participants only commented about cultural aspects, expressing their perception of the L1 culture as something that was still strongly present in their emotional life and widely responsible for the way their feelings shaped and developed, thus indirectly responsible for their linguistic preferences when it came to expressing emotions.

Considering interview data on the matter of L1 language and culture, FF emphasized how her culture of origin penetrated her emotional attitudes. Indeed, she valued the fact her husband had a mixed-cultural background, as this made him able to appreciate her strong emotional character, typical of her cultural dimension:

> "We are quite outspoken, we are quite open… we don't have to hide our feelings. In that sense it's not a shame to express our feelings or there is no shame in crying in public […] we don't need to get plastered to have fun. Some English people… they need booze to lower their defenses […] I vindicate the right to be culturally different in that sense, because it doesn't really hurt anyone […] I always say to my husband that if he would have been completely British maybe I wouldn't have liked him! […] He's familiar with the Mediterranean life style and he lets me express that part of myself, so I have got the best of both! […] For example, I have a very roaring laugh and, you know, people make me

> notice my laugh is too loud. Some people are amused by that, some people are shocked because I don't regret it, but I don't care! Actually, I've realised that's not me, that's my culture... something that probably I would have been told to restrain if I would have grown up here, but no, I'm Italian, I want laugh this way! I'm proud of that and I like to show it because I wouldn't be able to do otherwise"

Similarly, SG stated his attachment to the L1 for expressing emotions was motivated by his desire for a more outspoken way of coping with emotions. In his view, this aspect is a solid value of his L1 culture, something he felt intrinsically related to:

> "Italians are very genuine in a way, more honest and straight to the face. If they have a problem they won't hide it and they will tell you, they will look for you to tell you [...] English people... uh, I found it hard. They have some ground rules that they break just in few cases with few close people [...] I feel it like a little hypocritical. That's why expressing my inner feelings in Italian it's easier for me [...] Sometimes I got this frustration of not really giving the right amount information about what I am feeling. It is easier to express it in physical manner with physical gestures [...] in English it's harder to uh express in-depth real feelings [...] I miss something..."

Despite the fact that SG had the sense of missing something unidentified when expressing emotions in English, he clearly mentioned where the gap lay at the beginning of his interview, when he said that his L1 culture perpetrates a totally different way of dealing with emotions in social interactions. It could be argued that his sensing a connection with typical L1 practices regulating social interactions and L1 emotional scripts confined him to the use of the L1 to express his emotions, in order to reach a more satisfactory and genuine expression of his social needs.

DP's story about her difficulty in coping with two cultures and languages was slightly more complex. Indeed, she always felt intensely attached to her L1 culture, and, in particular, she confessed that a tragic event in her life forced her to revert even more to her roots and native language, as

she found herself unable to express her suffering in English. The inability to convey her pain in the LX led her to return to her L1 and her origins. Eventually, this traumatic experience guided her towards a more permanent settling in the UK, something she strongly refused at the beginning of her experience in London. In the following passage she explained how her integration in the new culture was a hard psychological process where emotions played an important part:

> "I didn't came with the intention of staying… as a migrant… I came to study for one year […] it's interesting because psychologically it was a process I've never decided to stay here. I was not planning to stay, so I was not thinking of reshaping my life […] This event in my life made the difference… it's a difficult thing to re-think about it, I don't have exact memories of that period really <sil> and I remember I wanted to destroy everything […] that was the period I wanted to go back to Italy […] I felt very strongly that this was not my place – England – I was struggling with the language… to express what I was feeling. During that period I was going towards my Italian *persona* and I was trying to reconnect with Italy. I was undermining everything I had built up here… so language-wise I was reverting more to Italian. I felt not understood here… what I was suffering could not be expressed in English […] I think after the storm I understood and decided to be here… feeling more integrated here"

Indeed, despite feeling more grounded in the host country, she admitted still feeling a strong emotional attachment to her heritage language and culture. In order to maintain the link with her roots, the L1 was embedded in all private and affective spheres of her life:

> "My existence here is more practical than emotional. I chose to do therapy in Italian and uh… my emotional language is Italian, I express my feelings way better […] It is a cultural difference: I'm not English! For example when I am with other children or mothers that don't speak Italian I find it very difficult to play in English… extremely difficult… because it feels <brth> an effort! Playing with children is really instinctive and I don't have the words. That's an area I feel I don't have the words… the little vocabulary and the meta-language and little things. I find it difficult to use English. Affectionate, playful, little things… can only be expressed in Italian"

In summary, the insights presented above showed how migrants might relate to their L1 at different emotional levels and how this affective relationship could derive from a strong fondness and appreciation of their culture of origin or from their cultural connection to L1 emotional patterns. Some participants encountered a real difficulty in expressing emotions in the LX, mainly due to a lack of intimacy with the language; some others openly blamed the LX to be not elaborate enough to describe their feelings. More importantly, some informants simply expressed a deliberate decision to express emotions in their L1, motivated by the fact that they could relate better to the passionate and outspoken attitude towards feelings which was typical of their heritage. In other words, some respondents believed that their L1 culture is what produced and shaped their feelings in the first place, and therefore their L1 was perceived as more suitable to convey an authentic expression of intimate matters. Finally, it is crucial to point out that this process is not always a conscious decision but can also be driven by more subtle and hidden psychological aspects, like in DP's experience of pain and her not feeling emotionally grounded in the LX culture.

Considering host culture attachment and language, some migrants expressed a clear predilection for the LX when expressing their feelings. Indeed, a good number of participants showed signs of emotional acculturation. In other words, many informants explained that they adapted their inner feelings to the new language and culture:

> SG (male, 33, UK): "I feel I need to tone down my emotions [...] Language-wise, I tend to use understatements a lot more when speaking in English"

When describing the effort of learning new emotional patterns, participants generally tended to highlight that it was mainly due to the adaptation to a new cultural context rather than to language proficiency or knowledge in general:

> SS (female, 47, UK): "I am more controlled and rational when I speak English. I am not as spontaneous, although this is not due to my limited knowledge of English, but rather to cultural factors - i.e. showing a different range of emotions is less acceptable in the UK"

> FM (female, 24, UK): "I use English in a more 'careful' way, in the sense that I'm less blunt and direct when expressing emotions than I probably would be when speaking in Italian. It doesn't really bother me, though. I see it as a form of cultural adaptation"

Hence, in their own words, migrants expressed how their cultural adaptation to the new emotional practices led them to a more conscious use of the LX. The fact that they familiarised with some values which were typical of the culture they live in led them to change their emotional attitudes and ultimately to appreciate the use of the local language more. It could be said that if migrants felt more confident when expressing emotions in the LX, as they had learnt the cultural aspects beyond emotional practices, they could ultimately tend to promote a more frequent use of the language instead of refraining from using it.

Other examples of the connection between language and culture can be found in interview data. In her discussion, FF claimed she started appreciating the British value of simplicity and conciseness once she understood how to convey it and its effectiveness. Not surprisingly, her liking for these features of LX culture reflected her preference for LX swear words, which she believed to be far more direct and simpler to use:

> "If I imprecate inside me, I say 'fuck!' because 'fuck' is more direct, I don't say '*cazzo'*, because is longer and it's uh... It has a lot to do with my emotional state of mind. Then, for example, if I don't understand something 'what... what the hell?' ... it fills my mouth, it's more satisfactory than '*cavolo'* [...]I have realised that in English, if you can express a concept in five words rather than ten, you are far more appreciated [...] you have to get straight to the point and be concise, whereas in Italian we do a lot of talking [...] I prefer English because is simple. I've learnt to apply this even to the Italian environment and I've realised it works. Maybe it's more frustration because you cannot directly insult someone [...] especially if you are a very emotional person, but it reaches the target more effectively! [...] What is missing sometimes in the Italian culture the ability to self-restrain so there are situations in which shouting, getting angry, outraging, protesting can be good, emotionally good, because it helps out your feelings, but it is not productive, it is not useful... so I have noticed that the Brits have more the eyes on the price"

At the end of the conversation, also FB confessed how she realised she has taken over some emotional traits from the new culture she was facing. In particular, she had learnt that minimising emotional reactions in the "British way" might hide a strong sensitivity. Thus, she openly acknowledged the cultural influence she was subject to:

> "I like being direct and with English I don't have to go around things a lot... a part from the fact that English people do go around things and don't say them directly <laughter> [...] Things we wouldn't find aggressive they do find them aggressive but I understand now that they are more sensitive to the tone of the voice the use of words. I'm influenced by the environment and by now I find inacceptable things that in Italy I would find acceptable."

Interestingly, both FB's and FF's accounts went in a different direction compared to all the other migrants' complaints concerning English's unsuitableness in expressing feelings in a direct and open way, presented at the beginning of the current paragraph. It seems that the more migrants valued the host cultural intrusion in their lives, the more they became able to recognise what is beyond the mere use of linguistic expression for expressing emotions, insomuch as they also ended up appreciating the use of the new

language in intimate or personal situations, considering it more efficient and direct. In a similar perspective, LF did not consider English as a more direct language but she explained how British people's indirectness and self-restraint in terms of emotion expression was a clear cultural construct, which she deeply appreciated:

> "British people seem not to be very good at assessing their own emotions or they kind of keep the cause close to their heart [...] culturally they are programmed to be awkward about feelings as that's something you're not meant to be sharing [...] you don't want to push those buttons because you know that's kind of pushing through their boundaries in a way that they won't appreciate [...] but when that front falls apart then you make really good friends and the friends I've made are like really close friendships [...] I think British-ness really helps like dealing with boring acquaintances like you can be polite but not waste your time. Honestly it's such a tool to approach life. Sometimes you don't actually have to open up and discuss stuff with people you don't know. There's something you gonna have to hide cause it doesn't help anyone [...] To be emotionally guarded is not always a selfish thing. I think is actually very selfless because it only helps people to live well [...] I get really upset when people are like 'British people are cold and they give you nothing'. That's bullshit! You've got to respect different cultures! You can't push someone to be something different if they're culturally programmed to be something else. And likewise they shouldn't expect that of me, being Italian... "

LF's testimony interestingly connected cultural understanding with her gradual appreciation of the new values she faced. Still considering how the LX culture could influence emotion expression, when talking about anger, SG revealed a sort of passive understanding of the underlying cultural rules, rather than an open attachment to specific values. Yet, he highlighted how emotion expression might be affected by the external settings where the emotions happen to be:

> "I don't. <sil> I don't I mean I don't get angry... I tend not to be, because I know the country I'm living in [...] If I am really angry I have to shout and then leave the place <laughter> but it's more with friends and family... that are mainly Italian. I never shout to people I don't know [...] It's easier in Italian, but I just try to learn when not to exceed. Also few things that we're very infamous for, like talking with our hands... and touching... I try not to exaggerate [...] I'm never really excited. I'm not

> the guy that shows it like visibly. It's more inside me [...] I don't show that much"

As it emerged in SG's testimony, boundaries between language use and cultural intrusion might be very hard to detect and the body language or physical reactions in general can be more noticeable. Indeed, FB reported:

> "I can now use English quite comfortably... I would say when I am really excited I am like 'YEAH...HURRAH!' or something like that 'YUPPEE!'... So I don't really need Italian to express that kind of emotions [...] Maybe my Italian ways kind of come out for those expressions [...] I do use my body as well, so my arms, my hands are working as much as they would probably work in Italian and you see... I'm grateful I don't have to hide it, I don't have to tame it down [...] There have been cases where there've been even tears and I would have had that in the same way in Italian... Sometimes in very rare occasions now English is probably starting to match Italian emotions, but probably it's used more in the Italian way rather than in a British way"

Essentially, a large number of participants recognised that the use of the new language could still convey emotion patterns typical of L1 cultural scripts.

> LF: "With some of my friends I think I'm guilty – inverted commas – of voicing my feelings when they ask me, you know, 'are you alright?' I will tell them how I actually am even though maybe sometimes they expect me to be 'yeah, alright...'"

> FF: "Even if I use 'please', 'thank you' or 'that would be kind of you' I smile a lot or I gesticulate a lot so I probably almost consciously make my point of being Mediterranean, you know. I mean ok, I can speak English with you, but I speak it my way. And I like that. I like to show that even if I use their language, with that type of courtesy, I do it with a bit of Italian-ness which is a kind of warmth [...] so in that sense the real me the... emotional me is still Italian. I'm very Italian in my manifestation... physical manifestation"

As LF and FF have shown, reactions to the realisation of conveying heritage patterns while expressing emotions could vary a lot, as some migrants could feel a sense of guilt for not 'fitting in' completely, while some others felt actually proud of letting a few selected traditional traits intrude in their emotional behaviour. Hence, choosing a specific language rather than

another one might not really reveal all aspects involved in individuals' emotion processing. Migrants clearly showed that they could express emotions in the new language, but let some heritage culture aspects interfere through their non-verbal behavior - in the way they modulated their tone of voice or in their body language. This is certainly a crucial aspect that could not be discerned from statistical analysis. Finally, it is interesting to point out that qualitative data strongly highlighted the coexistence of cultures and languages in migrants' minds. For instance, some interviewees clearly showed that when they felt intense emotions, the L1 was the one that felt more appropriate. FF, despite her strong appreciation for English directness and effectiveness, explained that nothing was more meaningful that her own dialectic expressions when she happened to get really irritated:

> "If it is a situation that frustrates me... say that I'm in the queue and someone is jumping the queue, then I swear to myself and I say '*oh maremma maiala!*' <laughter> '*ora vado li` gli faccio un culo!*' Of course, Italian is my own language so I've got some sort of attachment that is more... emotional. I feel it more secure, but in terms of simplicity English wins"

While stating her preference for L1 characteristic expressions, she highlighted how the L1 use and appreciation was not affected by her adaptation to the new cultural scenario. Indeed, even if she mentioned an anger-eliciting situation that was somehow reflecting values typical of her host culture, her language choice still pointed towards her roots. Likewise, she depicted LX use for love expression as something unappealing and unnatural:

> "I'm not a person of sweetish, darling... I don't even use them with my husband... with my husband when I want to be daring I say *bello* [...] I can't use daring words in English [...] it's not in my nature to use them in their language, it doesn't feel right, it doesn't feel natural [...] even if I

> wanted to there are not as many... they wouldn't give me satisfaction [...] I'm always very creative with endearments"

To summarize qualitative findings in terms of emotion expression and acculturation, all migrants' testimonies revealed the influence of culture in the way they express their feelings, being it their L1 or LX. However, the fact that migrants' language preferences for expressing emotions reflected their cultural orientations did not necessarily mean that the LX was perceived as a substitute of the L1. Similarly, engaging with the LX culture practices did not imply disengaging from L1 traditions. Qualitative data supported the idea that cultures and languages coexisted in migrants' voices. An important aspect to consider further is that the mere use of a language cannot fully reveal how emotions are perceived. Indeed, some participants explained that they detected their L1 cultural influence on their LX use for expressing emotions. Having said this, it could be argued that this type of cultural transfer generally surfaced and was motivated by participants appreciation of the values behind it, as FF discussed in her talk.

Several considerations about personality emerged from respondents' narratives. Statistical analysis indicated that emotion expression in the L1 and the LX is related to different traits. Specifically, Flexibility and Emotional Stability seemed to connect to heritage language use for expressing emotions, while Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness were linked to the LX use for the same purpose. In support of the statistical findings, a clear preference for the L1 was spotted in circumstances where participants had to express immediate anger or react to an emotionally stressful situation:

> LF: "I guess sometimes it has been hard to deal with um positive and negative feelings cause it doesn't feel the same. Well, swear words are

> funny ones [...] I think in English I'm so much ruder... in Italian I wouldn't, you know... or maybe I would swear but I would be aware that I'm saying something really heavy [...] Once I said to a stranger... at some point it can came out of my mouth 'You're so fucking annoying!' I would never say that to a stranger in Italian... that's a quite hardcore thing to say to a guy you've just met! It came out as not charged in the same way [...] One time I blew off with my horrible flat mate [...] and I said like... 'I don't give a cunting fuck about what you're saying'... 'cunting fuck' something I don't even think exists... <laughter> It was the angriest I could come up with and then it was a bit comedic cause that's a weird swear word... And I remember I was in the middle of the argument and I was so angry and I was screaming and I just had this moment of recoiling 'what did I just say?' like 'what's that?' So I'd say if I hurt myself I would swear in English, I'm thinking in English and that would feel the same cause it's like making a noise... but if I'm angry at someone [...] it'd feel artificial like is not the same than having a go with someone in Italian."

In her account, LF regretted being unable to control her emotional reactions, as she realised in several occasions how much ruder she could be when using the LX, confessing not being fully aware of the emotional weight conveyed through LX swear words. For these reasons, when the situation required it, she often switched to Italian, as her emotional behaviour necessitated it. In particular, this quote revealed a connection between language use for emotion expression and participants' ability to regulate emotional reactions. Somehow, the L1 was depicted as the one granting a less stable control of emotions, allowing participants to convey strong feelings more appropriately. Hence, as illustrated from qualitative data, despite the new language offered an effective way of expressing emotions, this could come at the price of authenticity and could fail when stressful situations occurred.

Proceeding with the analysis, participants' personal stories and biographical backgrounds revealed interesting findings about cultural and personality aspects, often highlighting how these two factors could be deeply blended together. LF, when discussing how she ended up together with someone from her hometown after a relationship with a British partner,

presented a good testimony of how personality and cultural aspects could relate:

> "I had this year where I was going home for like three or five days every month as if it could have helped… and it was towards the end of my relationship with my ex-boyfriend. He was British. I just couldn't help going home and I felt like that kept me sane. That was when I realised I was blocking stuff out […] It is not random occurrence that now I am hanging out with someone from my home town […] It was like a bit strange at first. We did get together very shortly after a big relationship with someone that was very British and very kind of guarded uh… it keeps me sane now that I don't have to explain my emotions. Oh, we do have ridiculous fights! We fight and we laugh at the top of strong emotions and none of these are serious, you know, eighty percent of the time we're not having a serious argument but we get frustrated we get louder but that's good to me, that's something I need […] I would say that I'm more face-to-face with things I feel in Italian […] that might make me unhappy but it kind of grounds me in a way. You're not grounded if you constantly avoid any issue because it's not proper to let it out in the open. I think it depends on the specific person but, you know, my ex-boyfriend had all the British qualities that make it hard for Italians to deal with British people at an emotional level […] I think we were different in a fundamental way and some of it was to do with culture some of it was to do with personality"

She explained how her need for a more authentic and outspoken expression of her feelings and her identity guided her home by bringing her closer to someone from her hometown. In her interview, she mentioned how personality and culture could both affect the way individuals behave in emotionally charged situation and express what they feel inside.

All these qualitative insights corroborated statistical findings, providing a more detailed view of how culture and personality can influence not just the specific choice of a language to express intimate feelings, but also participants' way of expressing emotions itself.

The following section will focus on findings about informants' self-perceived language dominance.

IV.4.2 Migrants' self-reported Language Dominance

IV.4.2.1 L1 and LX self-reported Dominance in Statistical Analysis

Results from the questionnaire enquiring about migrants' self-reported language perception were calculated, obtaining two variables, extensively described in the previous chapter: L1 Dominance and LX Dominance. Pearson's Correlation analyses were performed and results are illustrated in table 7 (Appendix I). Once again, Bonferroni correction was applied, setting the significance threshold as following: $p < .007$ (Loewen & Plonsky, 2015: 14). The analyses indicated that participants' self-reported L1 dominance was positively linked to their sense of belonging to their heritage culture ($r = .206$, $p < .000$). In other words, participants' L1 culture attachment explained 4.0% of the variance in L1 Dominance. More specifically, migrants who felt strongly connected to their L1 culture were keener on considering the L1 as dominant in their life.

Conversely, statistical tests indicated that participants' self-reported LX dominance was positively linked to their sense of belonging to the LX culture ($r = .256$, $p < .000$). Thus, participants who tended to appreciate LX culture practices and customs were more likely to consider the LX as their dominant language. Hence, similar to language choice for expressing emotions, it seemed the act of embracing a cultural scenario went together with the act of embracing the relevant language, allowing it to invade different spheres of life. Only a marginally significant correlation emerged between L1 Dominance and LX culture attachment ($r = -.115$, $p < .013$), while no correlation appeared between LX Dominance and L1 culture attachment.

These results proved once again that heritage and host cultures and languages were not perceived in contraposition. Nothing prevented participants from perceiving both their languages equally dominant and both their cultural traditions equally important in their life.

Striking results also emerged from the analysis including personality aspects. Considering L1 Dominance, the analysis indicated only a marginally significant negative link with Flexibility ($r = -.093$, $p < .043$) and with Social Initiative ($r = -.096$, $p < .038$). These correlations were extremely weak in strength and fell out of the probability threshold set using Bonferroni correction (Loewen & Plonsky, 2015). On the other hand, findings indicated significant positive correlations between LX Dominance and the traits: Cultural Empathy ($r = .190$, $p < .002$), Social Initiative ($r = .187$, $p < .000$) and Openmindedness ($r = .230$, $p < .000$). Interestingly, LX dominance findings were in line with the emotion expression results illustrated in the previous paragraph. Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness were confirmed as the traits linked to multilingualism and individuals' appreciation of their LX languages and cultures. In other words, migrants who were more sociable, open-minded and able to empathise with diversity were more likely to consider their LX as their dominant language. In summary, L1 and LX Dominance did not correlate to the same personality traits, as L1 Dominance failed to link to any of the traits.

Giving that L1 Dominance was linked only to L1 Acculturation, there was no reason to conduct regression analysis. On the other hand, linear multiple regression analysis was computed in order to find out how much variance in migrants' self-reported LX Dominance (the dependent variable)

could be explained by both their attachment for the host culture and all personality traits reporting significant correlations with the dependent variable. LX culture and Openmindedness were the only significant predictors of participants' LX Dominance (table 8).

Table 8

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' LX self-reported dominance

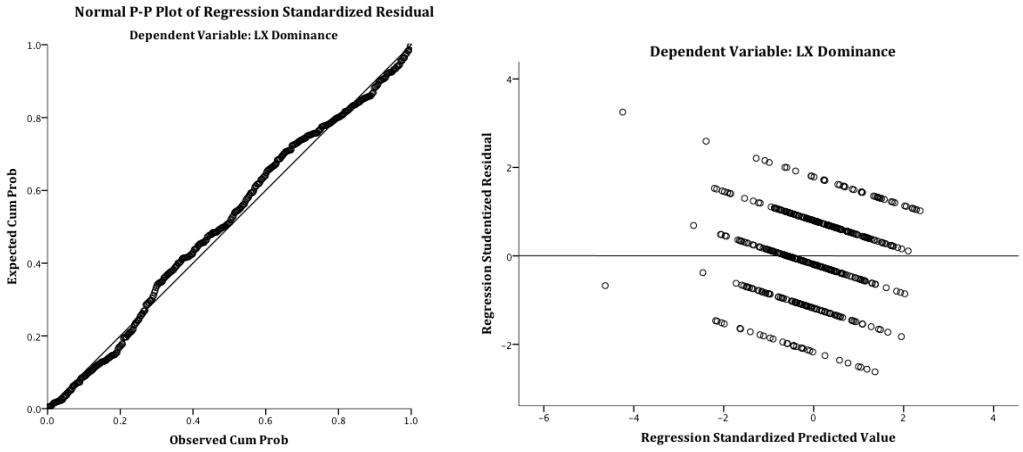
Predictor(s)	**r^2**	**F**	**p**	**β**	**Durbin-Watson**	**Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance**
LX Acculturation	.066	32.81	.000	.256	2.131	1.000
LX Acculturation and Openmindedness	.097	21.27	.000	.215 .180		.947 .947

Dependent variable: LX Dominance
Predictors: LX Acculturation, Openmindedness

All other variables were excluded from the analysis as they failed to reach the level of statistical significance. When testing regression assumptions, the Durbin-Watson's test proved that residuals were not linearly auto-correlated: 2.131 (Field, 2000). Also, tolerance eigenvalues were acceptable, as shown in table 8. Residual distribution was clearly borderline (figure 13), but it was still acceptable (Field, 2000). Indeed, points did not always appear as randomly scattered and within the value of |3|, suggesting that there could be some outliers. However, residual variances along the line of best fit remain similar along its length and the line of best fit looked flat enough (Larson-Hall, 2016).

Figure 13

Normality P-P Plot and homoscedasticity scatterplot



Having verified all assumptions, regression analysis can be discussed. The total percentage of variance explained by all independent variables was 9.7 %, where 70% of the total criterion variance was explained by LX Acculturation and the remaining 30% by the only personality factor involved. In a similar way to what happened with emotion expression results, migrants' liking for LX culture practices seemed to be the best predictor of their self-reported LX Dominance. The only personality dimension that somehow had a small effect on LX Dominance was Openmindedness. In other words, participants who were more open-minded were those reporting a higher use of the LX to perform cognitive operations, perceiving it as dominant in their lives.

Qualitative findings in the next section will better illustrate the influence of personality and culture on migrants' language dominance.

IV.4.2.2. L1 and LX self-reported Dominance in Migrants' Voices

Migrants' narratives often underlined the connection between heritage culture and native language. Several testimonies simply focused on the pleasure of speaking the L1. FF, for instance, showed her strong attachment for common sayings or jokes, typical of her heritage. Since she deeply enjoyed going back to her roots, she stuck to peculiar vernacular expressions that can only be explained in the new language, but not translated:

> "I still do enjoy speaking Italian and I enjoy using peculiar Tuscan expressions. When I write on Facebook, I like to pull out my regional roots [...] I like to use Italian expressions, translated into English, but I explain them. I like to say to English people 'you know in my country we say this...'"

As FF showed, her L1 use was purely deliberate and strategic. In other words, it was her own choice to let the language intrude in her life and this usually happened in circumstances where she deeply wanted to let some heritage cultural aspects of her identity emerge. Her attachment for some specific cultural values or practices, like humour, typical of her heritage, was reflected in a wider use of the L1 in those particular contexts. Similarly, SG emphasized that his code switching to the L1 was not merely due to a lack of knowledge of the LX, but it was a direct expression of his feeling affectionately closer to his heritage language.

> "Sometimes it's hard, I mix the languages it makes me feel upset But then I realise there is no shame in doing it... I do speak Italian... I do like it [...] Italian words get stuck in my mind while listening to them more easily [...] In English I lie better, because I feel it more distant from myself"

However, considering the attachment to the heritage culture as hidden beyond and – at the same time – motivating the attachment to the L1, DP

certainly offered the most interesting experience. In her interview, she explained how she recreated an Italian environment around her and how the connection with the language was a crucial part of this process:

> "I chose to teach Italian and to work in language department to be connected deeply with the language [...] I also decided to have therapy in Italian... for the cultural aspects... the therapist is Italian, she might connect more with cultural elements and notions and values [...] therapy for me it's a luxury, it's my space and I don't want to speak in English... <laughter> English again is more linked to work [...] Being very close to Italy to me it was a priority that my son would speak Italian. He's bilingual. He's 5, but his first language is Italian up to now... then I don't know. But when he was born and... in the first couple of years of his life I created an Italian environment... my husband loves Italian culture and also speaks Italian although he is English, so we decided to speak only Italian at home. We are an international family and I don't want to create an unreal situation but at the same time I want Italian language to be... both the languages and the cultures to be present"

In the passage above, she voiced how her choice to fill her life with her L1 was a clear sign of her need to maintain a deep connection with her roots. Indeed, only her mother tongue could reveal some cultural aspects that she considered vital for her identity as well as for her son's understanding of his family roots. For this reason, she explained why she chose to have therapy in Italian, as the language was a shared means of interaction with the therapist, which could link to a common ground of values, beliefs and ideologies. Ultimately, after her tragic experience that brought her back to Italy and her considered decision of going back to the UK, she admitted having invested more in integrating in the new culture and, as a result, she willingly decided to use more English:

> "Since when I decided to come back here I also use English more than I used to [...] it was an investment in being here and I made more effort to integrate to embrace more ... Englishness <laughter> [...] that was my decision: to acknowledge more this reality"

Hence, DP's report confirmed statistical findings indicating that LX Acculturation was the best predictor of LX Dominance. Indeed, a consequence of her decision to embrace more aspects of the LX culture was a more intense approach to the LX. Likewise, in her interview, LF pictured the potential existence of a link between LX domains of use and her life in the new culture:

> "When I'm drunk I think in English all the time! Cause I got drunk so much more here <laughter>"

LF also described her slow progress in learning to write in English as a hard and painful process that ultimately led her to become a proper writer, something she could have never done in Italian. Indeed, she explained that the struggle she had to go through when writing in her LX made her writing more remarkable:

> "I used to have a diary, in Italian, and I didn't write in it for two years. Me pursing writing was kind of incidental cause I didn't think I was good enough [...] In English there are times where I'm like 'those two sentences make sense?' I think is good with writing cause it makes you so picky all the time cause you're like 'I wanna make sure I make sense'. You won't write a sentence unless you know it makes sense [...] if I'd carried the writing in Italian, which came really naturally to me when I was a teenager, I probably would have just written fluff forever because I wasn't really asking myself the right questions [...] whereas in English has been like an incredibly painful process. It's always gonna be my second language so I write so much I read so much but I'm always gonna worry [...] that's good, you're really slow but you're really careful and that's a good thing like you don't just write random stuff [...] I don't know if would be able to write in Italian now <sil> I've started reading more in Italian and that's has been great! [...] I haven't written in Italian for so long now sometimes the syntax feels a bit weird... I personally probably wouldn't write in Italian this present time, I'm feeling like I'm loosing the language"

Her becoming able to write in the language she loved was something that took place while LF slowly adapted to the new cultural scenario. In other words, her struggle with writing in the LX seemed to be in line with the

struggle she initially faced when trying to fit in the cultural world she deeply loved. Having started writing as an adult in the UK, this uniquely linked this domain of her life to English language, confirming the statistical relationship between LX Acculturation and LX Dominance.

Analysing individual factors, participants' insights often focused on the relationship between socialising and embracing the new language. In his interview, SG discussed how his personal characteristics helped him socialise with people in the LX:

> "I think that the most important thing I've learned when socialising with English people is the way they approach small talk and conversation in general... it is something I can personally relate to and that helped a lot in speaking English more and more"

In his narrative, he explained how his easiness in socialising – when conforming to LX practices – helped him a lot in using the LX for social interactions. His social skills, together with a clear understanding of local social practices, helped him in learning to communicate in the LX more effectively, resulting in an advanced use of the language. Hence, as statistical analysis proved the existence of a connection between migrants' linguistic dominance in the LX and their social skills, qualitative findings confirmed this finding, adding further features to it.

Considering the connection with the trait 'Openmindedness' and it being the best predictor of LX Dominance, an important testimony came from FF, when she claimed that learning a language is all about being open-minded and confident. She did not find it hard to embed her life with English because she always considered herself quite unprejudiced. This is something that made her aware that there is no shame in making mistakes or having an

accent. Furthermore, because she did not put pressure on herself, she always enjoyed speaking English the way she could:

> "My husband… he tries to speak some Italian but he he's not really interested and he's lazy with languages, so he gives up very easily. He doesn't have the character to learn languages. For example, he doesn't like to make mistakes but learning a language is all about making mistakes… is about trying! […] Look, I know that I do have an accent, my husband reminds me all the time […] there are words that I still can't really pronounce properly in a way […] there are things that I will never learn even if I underwent err… <sil> a crash course like Eliza Doolittle… my fair lady… but I don't mind"

In summary, participants who felt strongly attached to their L1 practices in some specific spheres of their lives also considered their L1 as their dominant language in those contexts; they enjoyed making jokes in the L1 or maintaining an emotional attachment to certain words or expressions to use with their own children. Clearly, this related only to specific spheres of their life and not to others, explaining why they felt dominant in the L1 in some instances and dominant in the LX for others. Indeed, participants who strongly appreciated some aspects of the LX culture also perceived the LX as more dominant when used in those contexts. For instance, LF explained the LX totally prevailed in her 'drunk thinking' and her writing as those were two aspects of life that intensely characterised her life in the UK. Hence, participants showed how languages and culture could simultaneously cohabit in their mind. Specifically, they could decide to stick to one specific language to perform some specific operations, such as telling jokes, writing or socialising, but not others. Therefore, qualitative findings provided good support for the statistical trends, illustrating how the connection between culture and language could surface and how, more specifically, migrants' culture orientation could be tracked in their approach to the languages they

speak in some specific domains in their lives. Interestingly, participants provided an explanation for the motivation behind their linguistic attitudes by referring to the underlying cultural values they embraced, like SG's appreciation of British small talk in socialising with others or FF's love for her heritage humour. Finally, some participants also commented on how some specific personality features helped them in adapting to the new language, such being unprejudiced about mistakes and accents when speaking the language.

IV.4.3. Migrants' sense of Feeling Different when using the LX

IV.4.3.1. Migrants' sense of Feeling Different when using the LX in Statistical Analysis

Results of the questionnaire measuring migrants' self-perceptions when using the LX were calculated, obtaining two variables respectively measuring their sense of feeling different when using the LX with different interlocutors (FD Interlocutors) and to discuss different matters (FD Matters). Variables have been described in detail in the previous chapter.

Pearson's Correlation analyses (table 9) indicated that participants' sense of feeling different when using the LX with different interlocutors was negatively linked only to Emotional Stability ($r = -.244$, $p < .000$).

Table 9

Correlation analyses conducted on feeling different variables

Pearson's Correlation	FD Interlocutors	FD Matters
L1 Acculturation	-.029	.024
Sig. (2-tailed)	.534	.599
LX Acculturation	-.102*	-.126**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.028	.000
Cultural Empathy	.049	. 010
Sig. (2-tailed)	.288	.835
Flexibility	-.024	-.054
Sig. (2-tailed)	.598	.246
Social Initiative	-.064	-.115*
Sig. (2-tailed)	.166	.013
Openmindedness	-.013	-.050
Sig. (2-tailed)	.779	.238
Emotional Stability	-.244**	-.259**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000

* Correlations are significant with a *p* value above 0.007

Considering the α level of .007, a marginally significant correlation with LX culture attachment emerged ($r = -.102$, $p < .028$), while no significant correlation with L1 culture attachment or any other personality traits occurred. Hence, it could be concluded that Emotional Stability explained 5.9 % of the variance in migrants' self-perceptions when using the LX with different interlocutors. In other words, migrants' who reported feeling different when using the LX with different interlocutors were also more restrained in their emotional reactions. At the same time, there was no link between participants' sense of belonging to either L1 or LX culture and their self-perceptions when using the LX with interlocutors. On the other hand, a

negative correlation emerged between informants' sense of feeling different when using the LX to discuss different matters and both their attachment to the LX culture ($r = -.126$, $p < .000$) and Emotional Stability ($r = -.259$, $p < .000$). Besides a marginally significant correlation with the trait Social Initiative ($r = -.115$, $p < .013$), no link with any other variable was revealed by Pearson's analyses. In this case, it could be argued that migrants' who reported feeling different when discussing specific topics in the LX also felt less oriented towards LX culture practices and values, and therefore were more emotionally guarded. What emerged from the statistical analyses is thus the connection between migrants' self-perception when speaking a LX about different topics and their ability to control emotional reactions. A more detailed discussion –also concerning the topics of conversation that mostly made participants feel different- will surface in qualitative data. Interestingly, the analysis revealed no link with heritage culture attachment. Therefore, it could be speculated that migrants' desire for maintaining the traits and practices typical of their heritage had nothing to do with their perceptions when speaking the LX; rather, their lack of interest in LX cultural scenarios was related to their sense of alienation when speaking the LX.

A follow-up multiple regression analysis showed that LX Acculturation and Emotional Stability both had a significant but small effect, explaining a total variance of 8.2% in migrants' self-perceptions when discussing different topics in the LX (table 10).

Table 10

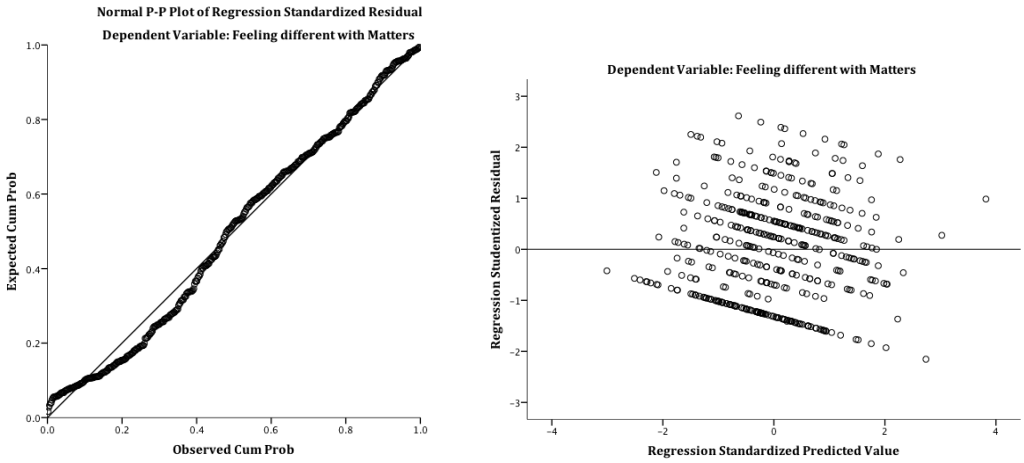
Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' self-perceptions when using the LX about different maters

Predictor(s)	r^2	F	p	β	Durbin-Watson	Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance
LX Acculturation	.067	33.57	.000	-.259		1.000
LX Acculturation	.082	20.80	.000	-.258	2.107	1.000
and Emotional Stability				-.122		1.000

Dependent variable: LX FD Matters
Predictors: LX Acculturation, Emotional Stability

Figure 14

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' self-perceptions when using the LX about different maters.



Considering regression assumptions, Durbin-Watson's value of 2.107 proved that residuals were uncorrelated (Field, 2000: 874) and collinearity diagnostics indicated there were no multi-collinearity issues among the independent variables (Szmrecsanyi, 2005: 142). A scatterplot of residual values against residual predicted values showed that data was homoscedastic (figure 14). As happened with LX Dominance, lag-plot distribution was borderline, but still acceptable as the line of best-fit was flat (Larson-Hall, 2016). Hence, all assumptions were verified.

As stated above, the analysis here aimed at discovering the joint effect of independent variables on the criterion 'FD Matters'. In considering the predictors' individual effect on the dependent variable, LX Acculturation accounted for over 80% of the total amount of variance. In other words, participants' lack of engagement with LX practices was the main predictor of their feelings of difference when using the local language to discuss different topics. Indeed, being emotionally guarded accounted for a minimal variance in migrants' self-perceptions when using the LX for different matters. It is important to point out that the effect was small. Nevertheless, emotions seemed to have a role to play in migrants' self-perceptions when switching languages. In support of the consideration above, respondents frequently mentioned emotions when discussing their sense of alienation when using the LX. This aspect will be analysed in more detail in the following section.

IV. 4.3.2. Migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX in Migrants' Voices

In qualitative insights the most extreme expression of the sense of feeling different when using the LX emerged in some participants who claimed to perceive a different voice and a different self when switching languages:

> FB (female, 35, UK) "I feel absolutely different and awkward when talking… as if my voice is not coming from me" (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a: 12)

> Paola (female, 44, UK) "I feel that I am a different person when I speak English, Italian and French about personal and emotive matters. My voice, apparently, changes also. I feel less in control, more emotional"

> BS (Dutch-Italian female, 31, US): "I feel like I have to deal with another 'self' who is pretty much part of what I am. Whenever I speak English

> this 'other' me switches on. She has a different voice, even in form of inner speech, she behaves differently, she feels differently. I am not sure I would have 'performed' in the same way if I'd write/speak/live in Italian. My life would have turned out differently as each and every conversation I had so far."

All previous accounts echoed the idea of 'linguistic schizophrenia', provocatively introduced by Pavlenko (2006). For instance, some migrants also confessed to use different names in their languages:

> A (female, 31, US): "I am a different person, I have different emotions, I also use a different name when speaking English. It's like someone else is speaking this language, which is far less responsive, more neurotic, less rationale… I am not entailing I do not like it, it's just as if I have a different 'self' co-habiting my mind" (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a: 12)

> LM (female, 29, Ireland) "The simple fact that my name is pronounced differently in Italy and in Ireland let myself be a different [L] depending on the person whom I am talking to"

In all these testimonies a strong sense of estrangement was depicted in support of the dynamicity and unpredictability of the 'feeling different' pattern. The process of creating a new identity was indeed frequently mentioned. For instance, some participants' struggle to keep an accent revealed a hidden process of identification:

> Giovanna (female, 49, Wales) "Identity in the UK, I find, is often shaped by accents. I live in Wales, but strive to keep my 'English' accent. This helps me construct my identity within the working environment, although sets me out of tune with the surrounding social environment. With the formal, I come across as a proficient non-native speaker of English, while the latter perceives me as an 'upper middle-class' citizen. In Italy, I speak mostly dialect and that helps reassuring the locals that I haven't forgotten my roots! When I speak Italian, I feel different again. I feel this is neither positive nor negative. You may dress up very smart one evening for a special event and in rugs when you do gardening. You are still the same 'you' although you can master different means of expression"

Besides these first powerful insights in support of the idea of identity transformation, participants mostly referred to emotions when commenting

on their sense of feeling different when using the LX, making it the largest code of interpretation of their narratives (table 2). Emotions might thus be one of the keys in interpreting migrants' self-perceptions when switching languages. One recurrent facet of this phenomenon – also illustrated in the paragraph about emotion expression – was the assumption that the L1 had an undeniably higher emotional value, while the LX was often perceived as inappropriate to express intimate feelings, due to an intrinsic lack of linguistic complexity and poetic character:

> Yasmin (Italo-Iranian female, 23, UK): "I feel different. I can't always find the right words for what I actually mean to say, especially for matters of the heart. I think English tends to stay a bit more generic, there aren't many ways of expressing deep and strong concepts as there are in Italian" (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a: 10)

Similarly to what happened when analysing participants' language choice for expressing emotions, some participants experienced frustration about their inability to communicate feelings accurately in the LX, whereas others felt emotionally disengaged from the language. Indeed, another *leitmotif* is that the LX somehow forced participants to be more objective, constraining their emotional reactions. This aspect also emerged in statistical analyses, where the trait Emotional Stability was the only personality feature significantly related to migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX. It could be speculated that the use of LX affected informants' self-perceptions when using their LX, giving them the impression that they are being more emotionally guarded:

> Silvio (male, 34, UK) "I am using the words and the expressions that I know, rather than those that I actually feel

In some instances, while explaining their sense of emotional constraint when using the LX, respondents mentioned that it mostly happened according to the types of interlocutors they were interacting with:

> Irene (female, 46, US) "There's a difference in body language. For example gestures are very frequently used in Italian and not so much in English. When I speak Italian I feel more passionate and I talk loud while gesturing at the same time. When I speak English I tend to be more emotionally controlled, trying to speak more quietly and I don't move my hands as much. So I feel a significant emotional difference with each language I speak, and most importantly with the person/people I speak with. (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a: 11)

Indeed, statistical analysis only focused on a total score, measuring participants' self-perceptions when using the LX with different interlocutors in general; however, descriptive statistics, at the beginning of the chapter, showed how the sense of difference dissolves when speaking the LX with more familiar interlocutors. In this circumstance, qualitative data revealed aspects that remained hidden in statistical analysis.

Considering acculturation levels, few participants openly considered this lack of emotional response as due to poor social and affective engagement with the host culture. By stating so, they subtly revealed a connection between their self-perceptions and their sense of belonging to the LX culture:

> AB (male, 39, UK) "Sometimes, I am not able to assess the shades of meaning conveyed by English language. Sometimes, I do not feel any emotional response attached to it. I do use emotions as an actor would do. I use English only for professional purposes and social exchange with people whom I do not know personally or to whom I do not feel any particular personal attachment" (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a: 12)

Another frequent topic was the sense of freedom arising from expressing emotions in the LX. Indeed, less extraverted migrants tended to feel more

different when using the LX. Despite the fact statistical analyses only revealed a marginally significant correlation with the Social Initiative trait, qualitative reports from some introverted participants suggested they experienced a sense of linguistic detachment when using the LX that allowed them to feel more confident in their emotional response:

> NG (female, 28, UK) "It is easier to talk about personal matters, since I don't really feel words as 'mine'. I don't feel like I am giving away something that belongs to me, just because I am not using words that I recognize to be mine" (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a: 12)

> DR (female, 27, UK): "I feel like if there was a glass between other people and me. I'm less shy, I don't care about if I make a bad impression"

> ARR (female, 51, UK): "English allows me to express myself in a more detached way and say things I would find difficult to express in Italian"

> SB (female, 26, UK) "I somehow feel 'safer' when expressing my feelings in English. It's as if I'd expose myself more when speaking Italian than when speaking English. The language is some sort of 'protection'".

All testimonies above focused on different perspectives, corroborating the idea that the LX could be a powerful mask, able to hide the most intimate feelings or real intentions, as well as a tool to attenuate the stress arising from difficult situations or memories. In other words, migrants did feel different, especially in emotionally charged circumstances, and some of them – being more introverted – could actually benefit from the lack of emotional response linked to the use of the LX, considering it as a protective shield.

Another popular theme across migrants' narratives was the sense of humour (table 2). The inability to tell jokes was a strong sore point:

> Salvatore (male, 36, UK): "I can come through as funny while this is not intended or I can't convey the jokes and puns I wanted to convey"

> Vanessa (female, 45, US): "All my collections of jokes, and anecdotes relative to my entire life (TV programs, movies, songs, places) are lost. Same for the sense of being able to play with words. I feel like I'm speaking a vocabulary robot of a language without fun" (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a: 12)

Humour is indeed an important aspect of acculturative processes. The inability to understand and master humour practices in the new culture affected migrants' self-perceptions when speaking the LX.

To conclude the open question analysis, there were a few occurrences where the discovery of a new linguistic reality was, conversely, considered exciting and revealing and participants praised the richness of multilingualism:

> Irina (female, 37, Ireland): "It feels like I am a different person, who could not match anymore the one I used to be back in Italy. It's like English takes out my real self, I feel free, energetic, interesting. I have the perception I got more to give to others." (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a: 12)

> AP (female, 35, UK): "I feel positive. It allows me to look at myself from a different perspective. It's a bit like having another way of being myself"

> Ketty (female, 27, UK): "[...] Speaking several languages gives you the opportunity to articulate thoughts and therefore express emotions and feelings differently [...] This is because language and objects (either tangible or abstract) are intrinsically related and each culture, hence each idiom, has its own way of engaging with the world"

All previous testimonies focused on the ineluctable link between culture and languages, seeing linguistic and cultural hybridity as a chance for discovery and enrichment of perspectives.

Interviews insights elicited similar themes (table 3). While all participants, when asked directly, openly stated they do not feel different when speaking the LX, in their narratives they all unwrapped a sort of

'multiple identity' pattern, eventually admitting feeling somehow different when speaking the LX. Interviewees often mentioned differences in the way emotions were perceived and expressed, supporting previous qualitative findings. For example, DP claimed her languages had different roles in her life and that her intimate feelings were exclusively formulated and expressed in her L1:

> "Private life is more Italian… Maybe the interview that took place here… it's work, so maybe that's also why it's in English […] So the two languages I think they compensate in myself […] English it's the functionality of my daily life let's say, it's the pragmatic part of myself and Italian is deeper into myself […] In Italian I can express more details and more maybe convey the emotional level more […] I use less words in English, you know, if speak about myself, that's of course a cultural thing"

Even more explicitly, FB admitted questioning her personal feelings on several occasions when expressing love, as the LX severely attenuated her perceptions to the point that she was not able to detect the true nature of her emotions:

> "When it comes to more sentimental things sometimes I'm asking to myself 'am I saying what I really mean right now?' […] I do feel like that if I am speaking in dialect I give more meaning to what I am saying <sil> I'm not really feeling good cause I have to say in the last few months sometimes I was like sort of asking myself if I was sincere about my feelings and that really sort of <sil> made me question, at the time, my relationship…"

Thus, participants either commented on their inability to depict emotions accurately in the new language or expressed their voluntary decision to stick to the language that made them feel more genuine when coping with emotional situations.

On several occasions, migrants openly linked the sense of feeling different to socio-cultural aspects (table 3c). In particular, many commented

on the inability to share a common sense of humour. Clearly, humour could be considered a context were migrants might find themselves uncomfortable when operating in the LX, and thus feel different:

> DP: "I miss humour you know, to share a sense of humour, which is again a difficult item to pass through culture and language, yes, and irony… which is very important for me. I am quite ironic."

Indeed, participants sometimes recalled unpleasant anecdotes or stories in their conversations where they failed to convey humour or accidentally ended up in embarrassing situations:

> FF: "I enjoy British humour very much but I still enjoy the Italian one […] I think that British humour is based on irony or *double-entendres*. In Italy sometimes it's more about the excessiveness, the exaggeration - how can you explain that to a British person? They will see the ridiculous part of it. I like making jokes. Originally, I used expressions that were translated from Italian and they were not taken down very well… it was a cultural clash… once I had a colleague that miserably tripped over from the staircase and […] my comments caused a diplomatic incident! I had to learn my lesson! Still, I like to bridge the difference and say 'oh you know in my country we say this' […] It is important to make them understand where we are coming from so… the reason why for example we are more straight forward or outspoken"

Hence, even when admitting to enjoy local humour and to feel more in tune with the host society, some confessed still missing something:

> FF: "Recently, I went to have an English tea in the countryside with an English friend. We had a lovely time we chatted a lot. I'm still chatty in English but I've realised I'm not entirely relaxed, whereas if I'd gone with an Italian friend I would have been more relaxed and also… it would have been easier to laugh about things or to say jokes"

On the other hand, SG, while mentioning a process of constant adaptation of his personal skills to the new cultural frame, valued his natural ability to be humorous in English:

> "Entertainment… I feel it closer to me than the Italian one. Uh, I like Italian humour as well, but I really find… even when I was younger and I

> was like watching movies and TV series [...] I did appreciate English humour from the start. It's something I can relate to. It's a natural thing [...] I've always been lucky with this, because maybe just by watching movies and things like that I have got the kind of approach they have so if I wanna make a joke... I just say it as they do... poses and rhythm [...] I don't feel different"

In his interview, he said the motivation behind being able to understand local humour practices was due to his striking interest for local forms of entertainments, like movies, that he had been watching since early age. Having a natural tendency to understand LX values and social practices ultimately led SG to state he did not feel different when speaking the LX. This testimony corroborated statistical findings, depicting a negative relationship between LX culture attachment and self-perceptions in the LX.

Qualitative data showed in several occasions how the sense of feeling different when using the LX could silently emerge in participants' considerations and remain unnoticed or not clearly identified as a perception of difference. Indeed, after affirming to be the same person in both languages, SG regretted conveying a different or defective image to his interlocutors when speaking the LX:

> "In English I'm pretty much like 'the Italian one'. I'm not behaving differently, but I think you've got a different idea of me for sure! [...] I think I sound more stupid as sometimes... I can't speak as I want and... sometimes I'm thinking faster in Italian. It's more natural. I can feel it from within"

Sensing that his mind processed the LX much more slowly, SG feared that his English-speaking *persona* might appear as less bright and genuine compared to his real one. In a similar perspective, LF confessed after migrating she silenced herself for a whole year in order to avoid being spotted as a foreigner, even though her English was quite advanced and she always enjoyed

speaking it. Indeed, she acknowledged having suffered a mild cultural shock when she realised her flatmates were addressing her and her friends as 'the Italians':

> "That was… that was really shocking. We were all 'this something other' that we didn't know […] And I couldn't handle… like people looking at me meaning 'oh she is foreign, she can't speak the language' […] I think you gotta work by subtractions, you hide some stuff and you silence yourself for a while […] I was not severely depressed but certainly unwell for some time because I had this verge to fit within the culture I was completely fascinated and thrilled with but I was terrified of my English not being good enough […] I've spent the first year in London on my own largely, because I was too scared I would go to party and maybe have a few drinks and then I wouldn't be able to handle a conversation […] I was terrified I wouldn't know what to say. I was really lonely… and completely self-inflicted".

This sense of feeling different when speaking the LX seemed therefore to be more a question of authenticity rather than proficiency. Even when participants clearly stated they enjoyed speaking English, other aspects interfered with their perceptions. In LF's story, her concern of being inadequate or unable to reveal her intentions appropriately forced her to avoid social interaction. In contrast, a few years afterwards, when she started priding herself in the fact people could not tell she was a foreigner and claiming she did not feel like a migrant any longer, she confessed getting irritated when her mother did not recognise her voice when speaking English:

> "Most of times people can't tell straightaway I am a foreigner and try to place me by class. I had this conversation with a drunk guy <laughter> in this pub […] and this guy was adamant that, because I say 'like' a lot, I was middle-class from the Midlands, like Birmingham area […] I was just like 'what are you talking about? I'm not like a middle-class girl from the Midlands who has worked out a slight Italian accent to sound cool… like why would I do that?' […] My mum <laughter> makes a joke all the time. Now she stopped doing that cause I used to get really upset. She was always like […] I can't understand you! You sound so different in English that's really weird… and it really upsets me! […] I do feel like a little bit <brth> yeah, you do feel… different"

Finding herself confronted with the opposite situation, where, instead of being a migrant with the desperate desire of fitting in, she became the local who wanted to sound exotic, LF realised she went too far with her process of transformation and felt pain when her close siblings could not recognise her anymore. Eventually, she admitted having a culturally mixed identity. Indeed, she said she started sensing a deeper connection with people with a mixed cultural background. In a way, LF progressively became aware that she could fit in a new cultural scenario while acknowledging – at the same time – that she came from somewhere else:

> "I've acknowledged the fact that I'm from somewhere else and that means something. I've realised that subconsciously when I've started making friends with people who have mixed backgrounds. Of my five closest friends a couple of them are British but there's an American girl who grew up in India till the age of 8, then she moved to the UK. When I met her I was like 'you're totally English' but she's not, like she is coming from everywhere. Then there's a friend of mine, she's from French and Moroccan descents and she grew up in Canada [...] There's a sense of displacement that comes up in our conversations a lot [...] When I get to meet people who come from a mixed cultural background and speak very good English but also understand British culture from outside, then you have a lot in common. That's something you can really build on"

Similarly, other participants mentioned a sort of process of transformation when speaking the new language:

> FF: "I like to construct phrases the English way [...] in that sense I'd become a bit British myself [...] I do change... depending on the language that I speak"

Another crucial focus of migrants' narrative was their sense of alienation, as also emerged in survey insights. For instance, despite the fact she generally admitted feeling mostly the same when speaking the LX, FB, at the end of her interview, while talking in Italian, confessed her voice sounded absolutely awkward in her L1:

> *"Una cosa che io ho notato e`che quando parlo in inglese e quando parlo in italiano la mia voce cambia... Soprattutto se sento tipo per esempio adesso, che parliamo in italiano, uh comincio a sentire la mia voce che mi ritorna nelle orecchie in italiano come se fosse la voce di qualcun'altro... e` impressionante 'sta cosa! [...] La voce che io sento che mi ritorna indietro sembra una roba completamente estranea da me quando parlo in Italiano, oh mio Dio! [...] Succede... nonostante a contatto con italiani ci sto tutti i giorni perche`, per esempio, essendo figlia unica una volta al giorno io parlo con i miei via Skype per cui non e` che non lo parlo mai o che sto settimane senza parlarlo"*
>
> [One thing I have noticed is that my voice changes when I speak English and when I speak Italian. When, like now that we are talking in Italian, I hear my voice coming back to my ears, it feels like if it were someone else's. This is impressive! [...] When I speak Italian the voice I hear back feels really estranged from myself, oh my God! [...] It occurs... despite the fact I am in contact with Italians every day. For example, I am an only child and I speak with my parents every day via Skype, so it doesn't really happen that I do not speak it for weeks]

Curiously, in her interview, she previously confessed she felt out of place when living in Italy, whereas she never had to change anything in herself to fit in the new society; she always felt at ease and always admired LX culture and values:

> "People in England are very polite and things do work here cause people follow the rules. And that is something that I really like... I must have been British in some other life... I have a really big admiration for them [...] I was not fitting as much in Italy because I don't know... yeah values maybe? I don't know... My mum says sometimes 'yeah, you're probably more British than Italian' and that's interesting cause also my British friends when they come to my place they say 'you are more patriotic than British people' [...] In my house I've got like the Union Jack and all sorts of things [...] I've never felt like I had to chance myself to fit but I always felt that they were very curious about me, very yeah, welcoming"

Connecting these two passages together could lead to the conclusion that individuals who felt strongly in tune with the new cultural settings were less likely to feel different when using the LX, confirming statistical results. Actually, FB's case also indicated a potential link between her feeling disconnected from heritage values and the fact she sensed a strong estrangement when speaking the L1, notwithstanding the frequency with

which she used the language. Unfortunately, statistical findings could not examine this aspect since there was no variable measuring informants' sense of feeling different when using the L1. Yet, FB's estrangement from her origins is not complete. Indeed, despite introducing herself as 'Fed' – the way her British friends named her – she reported being unable to fully accept it as her real name:

> "I always want people to know my full name. But I say, just for simplicity, 'call me Fed' [...] Fed was not a sort of uh you know shortening that I was choosing for myself [...] that way is the way I'm known here so... it's ok. Sometimes I don't feel like it fully belongs to me, cause I still think about me as 'Fede'"

DP, in her interview, offered a completely different explanation to this process of identity transformation between cultures and languages. In order to survive the struggle of her migration experience, she confessed having to reconstruct her Italian identity, re-adapting it to the new settings:

> "Well, it's interesting because I don't consider myself a migrant. I am of course I migrant but I wouldn't define myself as a migrant. I consider myself an Italian living in London, which is a 'migrant' but if you ask myself I'm Italian! [...] I've struggled [...] a lot with my identity here... and in Italy [...] It has been a hard experience... positive, with struggles in my identity more than in concrete life [...] I easily found my space here, a practical way for my life, friends and so... but in my internal dimension I struggled a lot and in fact I'm married now to my husband, who is English, but I didn't want to take an English passport for example... even if I'm entitled to [...] Yeah, I wanted to re-create what I had before. I think to re-create not exactly but... to bring what it was important to me here [...] I had to reconstruct a part of my Italian identity and <sil> I don't think I could have survived here without what I created around me and what I have also in terms of work [...] my strong Italian identity is there... Yeah, it's not easy you have to work around it, you know, it's not that is a project, but it doesn't happen by chance either [...] I need to be connected with the language"

In her experience, she confessed fearing the idea of becoming something else. At the same time, she knew she had to re-adapt her identity to face a new reality and, in order to do that, she kept strongly attached to her native

language. Indeed, when discussing the connection between language and identity, DP clearly explained that her English has been purposely shaped to fit her Italian identity:

> "I work and operate in English but that's very interesting because I speak English, I read English, I write papers for conferences in English and my English is good, but I always wanted to keep my Italian pronunciation <laughter> Yes… I wanted to keep it! It's a sign of my identity […] me keeping my accent was a way not to pretend to be another person"

In other words, in order to preserve her Italian identity, she reacted by shaping her accent to serve it. Hence, she filled in the gap she perceived when speaking the LX by keeping an accent. In this way, she felt like she did not have to change herself to speak another language. At the end of her interview, she stated that culture orientation might play an important role in migrants' identity, explaining that the desire to change or to cut the ties with the original roots might really transform people:

> *"No, non non mi sono trasformata, penso, in Inglese. Forse piccole parti di me si` […] dipende da cosa una fa, da dove viene, cosa cerca, perche` se ne va via dalla propria famiglia, casa… li` ci possono essere traumi precedenti o chissa` cosa per cui uno voglia tagliare tutti i ponti…"*

> [No, I didn't transform myself, I think, in an English. Maybe little bits of my 'self' yes […] It depends on what you do, where you come from, what you are looking for, why you leave your own family, your home… there could be some sort of past traumas or whatever other reason that leads you to decide to cut all the ties…]

Qualitative reports evidenced the perspective of migrants who felt naturally in tune with the LX culture and confessed they were not fitting in with the heritage one, like FB; those who desperately wanted to fit in the new world, like LF; and those who absolutely needed to re-build their roots in the new habitat, like DP. It could be argued that these testimonies suggested that this

sort of identity transformation did not happen in accordance with a specific path. Instead, it seemed to take the form of a dynamic fluctuation between languages and cultures. In order words, it could be seen as a constant process of retracing borders, including or excluding different aspects of personality, names, accents or linguistic attitudes. Thus, the sense of feeling different and its connection to cultural aspects is a hard phenomenon to depict:

> FB: "Do I feel different? I don't know... 'Do I feel like I had to change something in myself? Do I feel like more British? Do I feel more Italian?' [...] Why have I come over here? Because there was something I felt like it was belonging to me before coming here...? There are there are lots of things that I can't explain"

It is clear that the ideas of 'two sides of the same coin' or 'living in between two cultures' were far more popular than the concept of having different selves cohabiting the same mind. According to this perspective, the only certainty was that participants did not want to compromise their authenticity when dealing with different languages and they gave the impression they consciously or unconsciously decided what cultural side to embrace from a social or psychological point of view for specific domains of life:

> LF: "It's a little bit kind of creating a new identity, but I think that it means that when I'm socialising I compromise in a way that is almost like creating a new 'me' for a while and then it lasts as a code for early interactions but I can let other sides of my personality through later. And that's fine... That's still me! Yeah, I think I mean the place where the two sides <sil> sticks together [...] The only reason why I'm not schizophrenic is cause I'm very lucky at the moment I'm allowed to live in in between and I'm terrified of what's gonna happen when I eventually gonna have to pick one side [...] It's about balancing those aspects and I'm really authentic with people in the UK and with the good friendships"

> DP: "I think I live in an intercultural dimension here, you know. I live in between two cultures. I move easily in between one and the other. I don't see it as separated from what I'm describing to you. I have two integrated parts of myself now [...] Sometimes is tiring... of course as I said before. I need to go often to Italy and when I am in Italy I forget a

> bit about my 'English persona', that's interesting. I think the substance is the same"

In conclusion, it must be mentioned that interviewees mostly conveyed the theme of 'feelings of difference' by discussing the attributes of having a 'multilingual and multicultural identity'. Often, they highlighted how feelings of differences might emerge in one specific domain of life rather than in another one, such as humour or emotional situations. In their narratives, participants occasionally mentioned self-perceptions with different interlocutors, and mainly did it when discussing the idea of conveying a different image of themselves to other people. However, details about interlocutors could be found in their comments about specific topics, occasions, anecdotes or situations that elicited the sense of living in between different languages and cultures. Thus, it could be argued that the sense of feeling different when switching languages proved to be an extremely intricate matter to deal with and migrants struggled in recognising and isolating specific elements, situations or factors that determined their perceptions. This is why the current paragraph did not opt for maintaining a clear distinction between matters and interlocutors as the statistical analyses did. On the other hand, qualitative data added lots of different shades and details to quantitative findings, offering a clearer understanding of migrants' self-perceptions between languages and cultures and illustrating the complexity of this phenomenon.

IV.5. Cultural Findings

This second thread of analysis, illustrated in detail in the previous chapter, aims to examine to what extent migrants' sense of belonging to their

L1 or LX culture is influenced by language choice for expressing emotions, self-reported language dominance and their personality profiles. More specifically, L1 culture attachment and LX culture attachment will be the dependent variables, while migrants' L1 and LX Emotion Expression, L1 and LX self-reported dominance and personality traits (Cultural Empathy, Flexibility, Social Initiative, Openmindedness and Emotional Stability) will be the independent variables.

IV.5.1. Migrants' Heritage Culture Attachment

IV.5.1.1. The effects of Language use for Expressing Emotions and Language Dominance in Statistical Analysis

The first hypothesis of the present analytical thread concerned the influence migrants' language choice for emotion expression and their self-perceived language dominance might have on their cultural orientation. This section will uniquely focus on migrants' attachment to the L1 culture, analysing the variance in it explained by linguistic variables. It was hypothesised that participants who prefer the L1 for expressing emotions and consider it as their dominant language would more likely feel attached to the L1 culture. Results of the questionnaire measuring migrants' sense of belonging to their L1 culture were calculated, obtaining the variable L1 Acculturation, previously described in detail (section IV.2.4.). All other variables have been introduced in the analytic thread focused on linguistic aspects.

Pearson's Correlation analyses indicated that participants' L1 culture attachment was positively linked to their L1 use for expressing emotions with

different interlocutors (table 4 – Appendix I) and to their L1 self-reported dominance score (table 7 – Appendix I). Linear multiple analysis was then computed in order to find out how much variance in migrants' L1 culture attachment (the dependent variable) could be explained by their L1 use for expressing emotions and the extent to which they perceive their L1 as dominant. As illustrated in table 11, the value for the Durbin-Watson's test was acceptable (Field, 2000: 874).

Table 11

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' heritage culture attachment with linguistic predictors

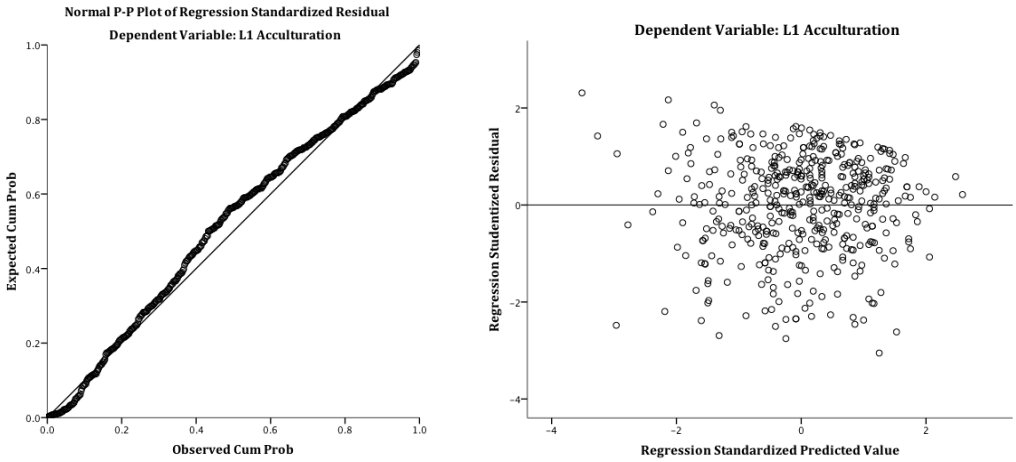
Predictor(s)	**r^2**	**F**	**p**	**β**	**Durbin-Watson**	**Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance**
L1 Emotion Expression	.075	38.94	.000	.278	2.007	1.000
L1 Emotion Expression and L1 Dominance	.094	25.09	.000	.241 .147		.939 .939

Dependent variable: L1 Acculturation
Predictors: L1 Emotion Expression, L1 Dominance

Furthermore, collinearity diagnostics showed that multi-collinearity did not occur among the independent variables, as tolerance eigenvalues were .939 (Szmrecsanyi, 2005: 142). A graph of residual values against residual predicted values showed that data was homoscedastic (figure 15).

Figure 15

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' heritage culture attachment with linguistic predictors



The P-P normality plot showed that variances along the line of best fit remained similar along its length and scatter plot points were randomly distributed within the value of |3| (Field, 2000). Having verified all necessary assumptions to perform regression analysis, results can be discussed further. Both L1 Emotion Expression and L1 Dominance were significant predictors of migrants' sense of belonging to the L1 culture. They jointly explained a total of 9.4 % of the variance (table 11). In other words, participants who tended to use the L1 to express their emotions, considering it their dominant language, were more likely to report a strong attachment to their heritage culture practices. More specifically, the best predictor of migrants' sense of belonging to their culture of origin was their deliberate choice of expressing emotions in the L1. Indeed, L1 Emotion Expression alone explained nearly 80% of the total variance in L1 Acculturation.

Qualitative findings will now be presented in order to illustrate and explain statistical findings.

IV.5.1.2. The effects of Language use for Expressing Emotions and Language Dominance in Migrants' Voices

When conversing about their culture of origin, all interviewees confessed they were longing for something. Indeed, the attachment to the L1 culture and language were two of the main categories in the qualitative data (table 3c). Each participant provided different explanations for their motivations behind this occurrence. For instance, FF, hilariously explained she learnt to appreciate some aspects of her heritage culture only when starting a new life abroad:

> "I think that after starting to live abroad I have learnt to appreciate the beauty of the Italian character… abroad! I like the fact that we are sunny people overall […] We probably enjoy life in small details, we contest the rules. I mean, obviously we contest them too much! But on the other hand we have the sense of criticism: 'ok, I obey to the rule, but only if it makes sense to me and not because someone tells me'. That's what I like and what I try to retain"

Seeing the difference in terms of attitudes, style of life and cultural values, FF claimed she understood what part of her heritage she really liked thus decided to retain, making the whole process look like a conscious selection. On the other hand, being strongly linked to her roots, DP found it very hard to define what she missed about Italy. Her discourse focused more on a theoretical perspective, as she confessed having difficulties in finding a suitable dimension in the new cultural settings:

> "Oh well, I miss the culture, whatever it means, you know… That's huge. I miss the way of thinking […] sometimes what I struggle mostly with living here it's …<brth> a philosophical dimension […] I don't know how to define it… Yeah, a deep philosophical approach to life… communication without words, you know… The fact you don't have to spell everything out […] I think in a more Latin-Mediterranean environment some things are implicit you don't need to say everything you know, but it's implicit in communication and I miss cultural references… that's… Yeah, I miss, you know, reading books, which I do in Italian, but I miss having conversations about them […] I'm not

> religious and my family is not deeply religious but growing up in a Catholic country, you have some Catholic values that I think I identify myself with, even if I'm not religious... the value of family and the value of otherness and sharing. England is an Anglican country and Anglican religion is based more on individualism [...] individualism and isolation a bit... so what I miss from Italy, which maybe is also an idealisation, is a sense of community, probably... conviviality..."

Likewise, FB affirmed she missed an indefinite atmosphere of conviviality she cannot fully describe:

> "I can say sometimes I do miss the food but, you know [...] I miss the atmosphere of being at table [...] I'm always saying to English people that in Italy we do pass a lot through food"

In all accounts presented above, participants mentioned a more passionate way of expressing feelings or opinions as well as a deeper sense of connection with peers as something they crucially missed from their heritage culture. Their observations thus corroborated the idea that the vital ingredient of their nostalgia is a different way of experiencing and sharing emotions. In support of that, while remembering the culture of origin, most respondents revealed how specific emotional terms or feelings still had a strong emotional impact on them, re-connecting their heart to their roots. DP expressed a strong voluntary desire to stick to Italian words whenever emotions or private life was involved:

> "There are words that are untranslatable as we know, also they are deeply associated with your feelings and even if you have the equivalent in the other language you don't want to use it. Sometimes I don't – which is interesting – I don't want to use an English word. I'd rather describe maybe my emotions rather than using the word [...] If my son tells me 'mommy I love you' it has an emotional impact, because I know what he means but... it has a different impact when he uses Italian words. For emotional reasons I could speak to my son only in Italian I was never dreaming of speaking English to him, or you know singing songs or reading stories. It wouldn't feel natural"

Similarly, the L1 dominated SG's emotional sphere and could evoke some inner values he felt strongly related to:

> "Some kind of words feel different, because they're related to more important feelings as '*ti amo*' [...] Italian is closer to me... feels more natural. I'm more linked to the Italian language [...] It's more like... expressive itself. I can feel it closer to me [...] and hurts more cause I can feel it from within. It recalls some of values that are inner to me, like some Italian values I can feel very inside"

Both the last two quotes clearly pictured a strong connection between heritage culture appreciation and heritage language use, without necessarily imply one as the cause of the other. However, LF's experience was more peculiar. Indeed, she explained that getting together with someone from her hometown and voicing her feelings using the L1 was like 'going home':

> "Love words aren't the same like saying '*ti amo*' and saying 'I love you'... with things to do with feelings and things that are charged, Italian always wins over [...] the language of the heart is Italian like it stays like that you know [...] I'm not a particularly romantic person but like having someone that voices the fact that deeply cares about you it is amazing. When I got together with my actual boyfriend it was like 'oh my God... We're in love, this is great, we can say it!' [...] It was like going home"

In her migration story, she regained contact with L1 values and traditions the moment she fell in love with someone from her heritage culture. By voicing her love in the L1 she felt at home and progressively realised she had been missing a more outspoken attitude when expressing emotions, something she could only do with someone able to understand it.

Another interesting testimony of how language could reconnect migrants to their home country came from FB. Despite her love for English music, she expressed the need for her heritage music when going through strong emotional states. Specifically, she said she could only vent those

feelings through her music, which thus become a powerful link to her heritage culture:

> "I do go through periods when something happens to my mind and yeah maybe again is still connected to emotions… if I've got specific emotions… I feel the need to actually go back and listen to that type of songs"

Hence, participants confessed that the L1 use in specific spheres or situations of their daily life evoked strong emotions and feelings that solidly re-connected them to their origins. Focusing more in detail on language dominance, DP explained how shaping her life around Italian language helped her to maintain a strong tie with her heritage culture:

> "I have a strong connection with the language. I've been teaching Italian for a long time, which kept the connection with Italy, with Italian culture… I always wanted to keep the relationship"

This confirmed statistical findings indicating that expressing emotions in the L1 and considering the L1 as dominant in certain spheres of life determined a percentage of variance in migrants' cultural orientation, increasing their sense of belonging to the L1 culture. Expressing love in the L1, using affectionate expressions, listening to evocative song lyrics or simply maintaining a quotidian connection with the language itself re-created a sense of familiarity migrants were consciously or unconsciously missing. In conclusion, retaining a strong affective relationship with the L1 seemed to be a way to keep tied to personal roots, increasing the sense of belonging to the country of origin.

IV.5.1.3. The effects of Personality Traits in Statistical Analysis

The second hypothesis of the present analytical thread concerned migrants' personality profiles and the influence they might have on their attachment to L1 and LX culture. Specifically, this paragraph will specifically focus on migrants' orientation towards the L1 culture.

Pearson's Correlation analyses (table 12) indicated that participants' sense of belonging to the heritage culture was negatively linked to Flexibility ($r = -.169$, $p < .000$) and Emotional Stability ($r = -.139$, $p < .000$). Having performed 5 tests, the significance threshold was set as the following: $p < .01$ (Loewen & Plonsky, 2015). Hence, results indicated a marginally significant link with Cultural Empathy trait ($r = .116$, $p < .012$), while no significant correlation emerged with all other traits. Therefore, participants who were less flexible and more emotionally guarded were more likely to feel close to their heritage culture practices. Interestingly, statistical results seemed to be coherent throughout the analysis. Indeed, Flexibility and Emotional Stability were negatively related also to L1 Emotion Expression, and Emotional Stability was negatively related to migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX. It could therefore be speculated that these two aspects of migrants' personality seemed to relate to their affection for both heritage language and culture.

A follow-up multiple regression analysis was computed in order to find out how much variance in migrants' L1 culture attachment (the dependent variable) could be explained by these two personality dimensions. Flexibility and Emotional Stability were both significant predictors of migrants' sense of

belonging to the heritage culture, explaining a total variance of 3.7 % (table 13).

Table 13

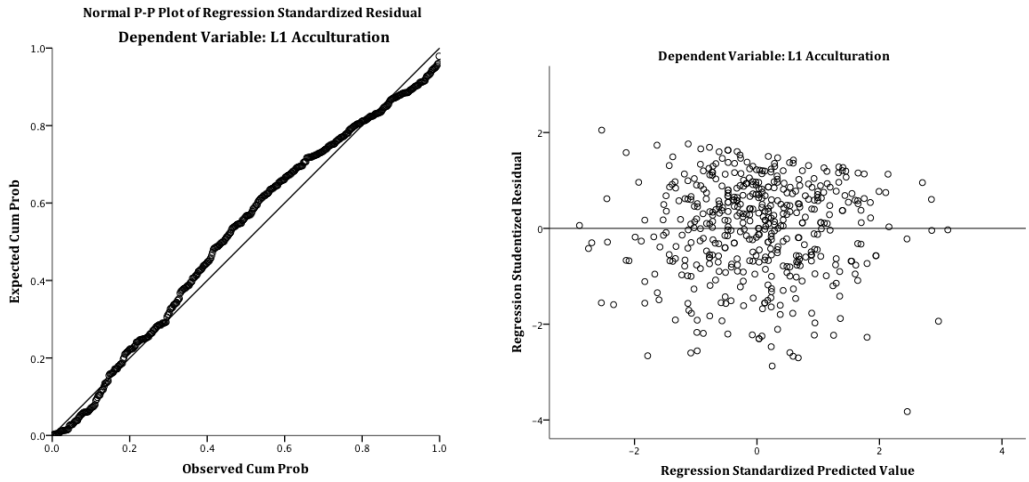
Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' heritage culture attachment with personality predictors

Predictor(s)	r^2	F	p	β	Durbin-Watson	Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance
Flexibility	.028	13.62	.000	.169		1.000
Flexibility and Emotional Stability	.037	8.93	.000	.140	2.040	.911
				.097		.911

Dependent variable: L1 Acculturation
Predictors: Flexibility, Emotional Stability

Figure 16

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' heritage culture attachment with personality predictors



The value for the Durbin-Watson's test was 2.040, thus acceptable (Field, 2000: 874) and collinearity diagnostics illustrated that multi-collinearity did not occur among the independent variables (Szmrecsanyi, 2005: 142). The P-P normality plot in figure 16 shows that residual variances remained similar and a residual scatterplot displayed homoscedasticity of the data (Field, 2000). All necessary assumptions to perform regression analysis were met.

Considering results, the effect size was small and the main predictor of participants' sense of belonging to the L1 culture was Flexibility, accounting for 2.8% of the variance. In other words, migrants' flexibility was the main aspect of their personality that kept them attached to their original culture practices.

The analysis of qualitative insight will be presented in the following section. One interview in particular revealed findings that were mostly in line with statistical trends and largely contributed to providing a better picture of the complex interaction of the psychological and cultural factors involved.

IV.5.1.4. The effects of Personality Traits in Migrants' Voices

Above all, the experience of DP was one of the most striking. Indeed, she voiced a deep physical need to visit her home country quite often in order to survive in the new cultural context that had become her home:

> "I miss this uh… the culture… it's what you grew up with… the background, which anyway I have because I work at the university and I teach Italian and I have Italian colleagues and so on but I have to look for it […] Physically, I still need to go to Italy every two three months… to hear speaking Italian, read Italian newspapers, read Italian books. I need to drink coffee in Italy. I need to […] to be there… to breath a bit of Italian air […] I'm happy here knowing that I can always travel to Italy"

She commented on her personality aspects, confirming a connection between her solid attachment to her heritage culture and some specific characteristics of her character:

> "Deeply, I'm shy and it's not very easy for me to socialise, not very easy for me to be in big groups to socialise. I like one-to-one or small groups […] I think I'm able to manage my emotions… with exceptions, sometimes I don't convey the right message. Uh, I'm flexible when I feel secure to be flexible, when I feel… threaten then I become less flexible and more rigid, when I need to protect myself"

Her testimony has been selected as accurately representing statistical trends. Her feeling of being threatened by unfamiliar situations and her occasional inability to truthfully verbalise her emotions, such as in the tragic circumstance during which she felt unable to express her profound suffering in English, were aspects which seemed to be linked to her strong attachment to her roots. In her interview, she also discussed the fact that she is more introvert than sociable, especially when dealing with large groups of people. This aspect did not emerge from quantitative findings as no correlation occurred between L1 Acculturation and Social Initiative trait. However, it must be said that DP only briefly mentioned her shyness, specifying that this generally occurred in certain situations, like when she has to deal with big groups of people. It is important to mention that qualitative data analysis has been restricted to illustrate and only minimally elaborate statistical findings in order to provide a better picture of migrants' experience. Hence, no further speculation regarding potential connections between cultural orientation and personality that remained hidden in statistical analysis can be attempted.

In conclusion, findings showed that some personality aspects corroborated migrants' desire to maintain some particular practices of their heritage culture or their appreciation in general for their original culture. Specifically, these personality features were the ability to regulate emotional reactions and the tendency to refrain from novelty, also interpretable as a stronger attachment to familiar settings.

IV.5.2. Migrants' Host Culture Attachment

IV.5.2.1. The effects of Language use for Expressing Emotions and Language Dominance in Statistical Analysis

The following sections will focus on migrants' attachment to their host culture. It was speculated that participants who extensively use the LX to express emotions and consider it as their dominant language would more likely report a deep sense of belonging to the LX culture. Results of the questionnaire, measuring migrants' liking for the LX culture, were calculated, obtaining the variable LX Acculturation, already mentioned above. All other variables have been also previously introduced.

Pearson's Correlation analyses indicated that participants' LX culture attachment was positively linked to their LX use for expressing emotions with different interlocutors (table 4 – Appendix I) and to their self-reported LX dominance scores (table 7 - Appendix I). Thus, participants who reported widely using the LX for expressing emotions with different interlocutors, considering it as their dominant language, were also faster in developing traits and practices typical of the LX culture.

Linear multiple regression analysis was then performed in order to find out how much variance in migrants' LX culture attachment (the dependent variable) could be explained by their preference for expressing emotions in the LX as well as the extent to which they perceive their LX as their dominant language. The value for the Durbin-Watson's test (table 14) was acceptable (Field, 2000: 874) and collinearity diagnostics showed that

multi-collinearity did not occur among the independent variables (Szmrecsanyi, 2005: 142).

Table 14

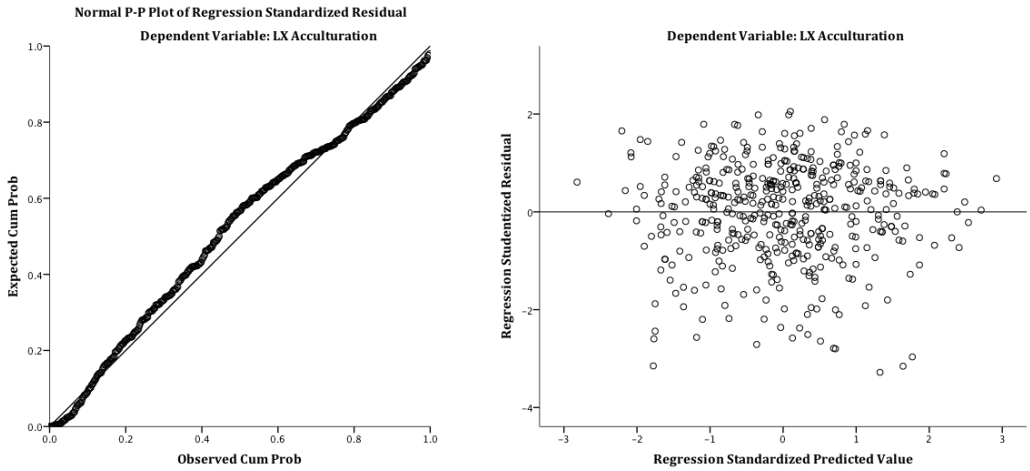
Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' host culture attachment with linguistic predictors

Predictor(s)	r^2	F	p	β	Durbin-Watson	Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance
LX Emotion Expression	.097	50.00	.000	.311		1.000
LX Emotion Expression and LX Dominance	.124	14.34	.000	.255 .174	2.051	.895 .895

Dependent variable: LX Acculturation
Predictors: LX Emotion Expression, LX Dominance

Figure 17

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' host culture attachment with linguistic predictors



The P-P normality plot showed that residuals were normally distributed and a lag-plot showed both that data were homoscedastic and that there were no significant outliers (Field, 2000). All necessary assumptions to perform regression analysis were thus verified (figure 17).

Examining statistical findings, LX Emotion Expression and LX Dominance were both significant predictors of migrants' sense of belonging

to the LX culture, explaining a total of 12.4% of the variance (table 14). Hence, migrants' LX use for expressing emotions was the best predictor of their sense of belonging to the LX culture.

The following section is dedicated to all migrants' personal narratives and will provide a good illustration of quantitative findings.

IV.5.2.2. The effects of Language use for Expressing Emotions and Language Dominance in Migrants' Voices

Qualitative findings highlighted that emotions could somehow trigger people's appreciation of the new world they live in. FB, who defined hers as an 'emotional migration', explained how her enthusiasm for the different environment helped her with integrating in the new country:

> "That the first time I moved to England I had that kind of enthusiasm 'oh my God, finally I'm starting!' A year later I moved to Chester from Bath, where I was living, and that to me was more traumatic than moving from Italy to England. I got really attached to my first place and it was really strange from me to abandon the place that it was associated to my first experience of England. I was giving meaning to everything, roundabouts, supermarkets they all had a meaning to me… I felt at home… you know, yeah, it took me about a year to settle all the things […] I was even noticing just before living Italy. Apart from being a little bit depressed, I was very grumpy I could have a fight with everyone everyday, I could have been very easily prompted to outrage […] In the summer of 2009 I started to see a physiotherapist cause my back wasn't working anymore, my shoulders were always tense and she clearly said to me 'this is all emotional' and I said 'ok, fine, it's just time to leave' […] I think it had to do a lot of my emotions because I could not express them as much as I wanted in Italy and they were going very much in my body and I was stuck in a situation […] when I came here it was a completely different emotion […] I wasn't shocked, I was like so happy…I couldn't have been happier in my life […] I remember being in Somerset and walking around it was for me the ideal place. It was the place that I've always dreamed, I realised"

In her account, she depicted a strong emotional attachment to landscapes and surroundings. However, her growing affection for the new environment she found was largely due to the fact that she finally found a place where she

felt at ease – as she explained – that looked suitable for her emotional needs. In other words, she finally found a place where she could freely start voicing what she had been blocking out for a while. Indeed, she claimed that in Italy she was unable to express her feelings appropriately and she felt very tense while living there. She thus experienced a strong sense of liberation after her migration. In a way, she portrayed a relationship between her being unable to express her feelings appropriately and her appreciation of the new culture, where she finally found peace.

In terms of language dominance, some survey participants explained how speaking the LX eventually led them to understand and appreciate humour practices typical of the host culture:

> MR (female, 36, UK): "I tend to be snappier, wittier. Basically, I think I tend (sometimes deliberately, sometimes not) to conform to British norms regarding humour, irony, understatement… something I ended up liking a lot"

Given that humour is an extremely representative aspect of cultural practices, the passage above illustrates how the use of the LX led the participant to feel more in tune with LX values and culture, confirming statistical trends.

Talking about languages and name practices, SG considered the importance of the use of local nicknames as something that could help people to feel integrated:

> "If I would have children I would force myself to address them with some English nicknames […] the idea of having them here in the UK… I'd want them to be more integrated than I am"

In his testimony, he reported a clear connection between name practices and the sense of integration in the LX culture. He believed that the use of typical

LX nicknames could create a higher sense of connection with the external community.

Finally, LF, in her interview, explained how her emotional attachment to the language is actually the reason for her migration. She admitted she always enjoyed speaking English:

> "It feels good in my mouth like... it's nice to speak it. It's not just a matter of confidence [...] I enjoy the sound... I've always enjoyed it like that's something that goes way back... I remember being like three and speaking mock-English to friends on my playground... it's really weird"

Being in love with the LX undoubtedly created a strong cultural connection, which greatly helped her identification with her host culture:

> "I'm proud of my English because I've always loved English and like that's a satisfaction and it also it feels good to speak it! [...] I think if I'd move back to Italy I would miss like authoring the words [...] When I was on holiday in Paris I wasn't really looking out for Italians. I've heard someone speaking English and I was like 'Oh my God! Hi! Speak to me' [...] if I hear people speaking Italian I won't necessarily feel a kind of connection... if I hear like a Tuscan accent I will maybe [...] When I went to Milan [...] I was queuing for drinks and there was a British girl and I hadn't met any girls on that night yet and I was like 'oh please talk to me'"

Given that she moved in the UK when she was a teenager, English represented the language of her adulthood and her independence:

> "I feel a very precise split between being like a kid and being a grown up ... I speak English as a grown up"

The emotional attachment she always had for the English language was so strong that it brought her to another country. Following this, she filled her life with the new language, she silently observed it and practiced until she felt like that was a new voice she could finally adopt. At that point, she explained she could not live without it anymore. English had become her dominant language in her adult life and most of her interactions, work and daily

conversation passed through it. In all her quotes reported here and in previous paragraphs, a clear pattern of connection between language and culture can be easily spotted. Specifically, in the passages above, she explained how the sound of the language let the connection click inside and made her feel at home even when abroad.

To summarise, the new language could make participants conform to new humour practices, leading them to appreciate a new way of being humorous. Similarly, the use of LX typical nicknames could induce a strong sense of belonging to the new cultural world. In other circumstances, just hearing the language or yearning to speak it could represent a strong identification with the host culture. Hence, in all these accounts, migrants depicted how the love and use of the language in different domains of their life brought them closer to the host culture they were facing. In conclusion, qualitative insights conformably illustrated statistical findings and provided further shades of interpretations.

IV.5.2.3. The effects of Personality Traits in Statistical Analysis

This paragraph will analyse the effect of personality on migrants' LX culture attachment. Pearson's Correlation analyses (table 12) indicated that participants' LX culture attachment was positively linked to the traits: Cultural Empathy ($r = .267$, $p < .000$), Social Initiative ($r = .181$, $p < .000$) and Openmindedness ($r = .230$, $p < .000$). Results remained consistent across the analyses. Indeed, Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness also related to LX Emotion Expression and LX Dominance. In other words, it could be argued that these specific aspects of individuals' character seemed to be linked to their general appreciation of LXs and

cultures in several aspects. In this circumstance, participants who were more socially skilled, open-minded and attracted to cultural diversity also reported a considerable keenness on developing LX culture practices and a strong sense of belonging to it.

A follow-up linear multiple regression analysis was computed in order to find out how much variance in migrants' LX culture attachment could be explained by these personality dimensions.

Table 15

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' host culture attachment with personality predictors

Predictor(s)	**r^2**	**F**	**p**	**β**	**Durbin-Watson**	**Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance**
Cultural Empathy	.071	35.75	.000	.267	1.945	1.000
Cultural Empathy and Openmindedness	.083	21.05	.000	.202 .126		.737 .737

Dependent variable: LX Acculturation
Predictors: Cultural Empathy, Openmindedness

Cultural Empathy and Openmindedness were the only significant predictors of migrants' sense of belonging to the LX culture, explaining a total variance of 8.3 % (table 15).

In contrast, Social Initiative failed to reach the level of statistical significance. The Durbin-Watson's test proved that residuals were not linearly auto-correlated: 1.945 (Field, 2000: 874). Collinearity diagnostics illustrated that multi-collinearity did not occur among the independent variables, as tolerance eigenvalues were acceptable (Szmrecsanyi, 2005: 142).

Figure 18

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' host culture attachment with personality predictors

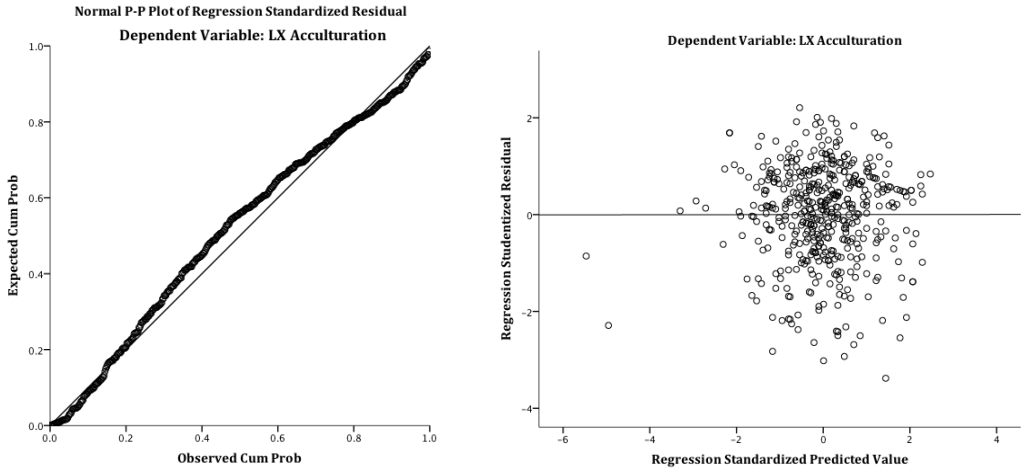


Figure 18 illustrates that residual variances remained similar along the line of best fit and a lag-plot displayed homoscedasticity of the data (Field, 2000). All necessary assumptions to perform regression analysis were thus met. The analysis indicated Cultural Empathy as the best predictor of the criterion, explaining 7.1% of the variance in migrants' host culture attachment. Therefore, it could be speculated that informants' strong appetite for cultural exchange and their ability to empathise with diverse values, ideologies and beliefs seemed to boost their liking for host culture practices.

The present section will be concluded with migrants' personal accounts illustrating and explaining these quantitative trends.

IV.5.2.4. The effects of Personality Traits in Migrants' Voices

In many cases, interviewees did not refer to specific personality traits but generally discussed how some natural tendencies and attitudes helped them to feel more in tune with the new surroundings. SG, in his conversation,

mentioned his natural affinity with British culture as something strongly linked to his personal character:

> "For sure I work on my behaviour everyday [...] I sense that my cultural background is different and I need to push myself a little bit to understand the others, but uh... I was lucky to be born like with a natural tendency of uh behaving like English people do. The thing I find... in common with them it's like being very reserved... a big respect of privacy and personal matters and trying not to be overwhelming when relating to people, which is totally the opposite of what Italians do [...] I still feel that I'm a immigrant and I don't know if it will be possible to feel completely inside the culture, but still I feel like I have lots of uh common points with English people and that helped me a lot with integration in this country"

Despite missing a more genuine way of relating to people, that he describes as particular to his original country, he explained he always felt attracted to different cultures and described himself as a listener:

> "It's... easier to get to know some foreigner guys... because you're more interested [...] You're curious, you try to let them feel welcomed, and at the same time you try to understand something about them [...] Yeah, listener is the word that describes me better [...] Said that, I would add that of course I miss some peculiar things from my country [...] I miss the way people relate sometimes, which is I think more genuine in a way"

SG's experience therefore corroborated the argument that being culturally skilled and being able to empathise with others could boost people's chances to perceive a natural match with host culture practices.

To conclude the analysis of this cultural thread, it is crucial to mention that most migrants appreciated the beauty of living in between cultures, taking the best of both sides:

> SG: "I like both. I mean you can have big roots and at the same time try to... <brth> to... widen your point of view like in order to know the most from the world outside"

> FF: "I think the Italians abroad give the best of themselves and adapt [...] Obviously, they import the best of their qualities. But at the same time

> they adapt to the different reality and are more, you know… disciplined, they respect the rules more so they are influenced by the positivity of their environment"

> FB: "It is really interesting sometimes when you're coming from a different culture, how easily you can spot different values from yours […] it's so easily spotted for me and for them it's like… 'oh I didn't know I was like this!' […] Now I see that we are very much chaotic but also from the chaos it comes a lot of warmth and creativity… let's say that we have warmth and creativity whereas in England you've got this politeness, strict politeness and you know everyone is obliged by the rules […] I always say that I think that a good mixture would be a good between the two cultures. Cause sometimes British can't see outside the lines or outside the box when actually Italians have got maybe that sort of push more"

> LF: "You're kind of never really happy, you know, in either place […] if I could find a way to live in between"

All these passages highlighted how sometimes there is no binary choice between two cultural worlds and the space between the two might be very difficult to spot. Participants considered both the advantages and the difficulties of living in between two languages and cultures, ranging from the possibility of taking the best of both sides, like FF, or the sense of being constantly misplaced, like LF. Mostly, what is striking for the present research is that all migrants confirmed how cultures blended in their life, creating a sort of hybridity of emotions, values and traits. These testimonies added a strong dimension to statistical findings, in the sense that they illustrated how different aspects of individuals' personality could direct them towards different achievements, which could be the maintenance of affectionate traditions as well as the assumption and the understanding of new practices and norms. This is why they generally strived to isolate cultural factors and personality aspects and in their conversations they often jumped from one side to the other side of the coin, picturing how it looks to live in between two worlds.

IV.6. Personality Findings

This last sequence of analyses aims at verifying to what extent migrants' personality profiles were affected by their linguistic behaviour and cultural orientation. More specifically, MPQ personality traits (Cultural Empathy, Flexibility, Social Initiative, Openmindedness and Emotional Stability) will be the dependent variables, while migrants' L1 and LX Emotion Expression, L1 and LX self-reported dominance and L1 and LX Acculturation will be the independent variables. In the following paragraphs each personality trait will be considered separately. Correlation and regression analyses will be performed and qualitative insights will be presented to explain and illustrate statistical findings.

IV.6.1. Cultural Empathy

IV.6.1.1. Cultural Empathy in Statistical Analysis

This section will uniquely focus on the trait Cultural Empathy, included here as a dependent variable. Pearson's Correlation analyses indicated that Cultural Empathy was positively linked to informants' LX use for expressing emotions with different interlocutors (table 4 – Appendix I), their LX self-reported dominance score (table 7 - Appendix I) and attachment to the LX culture (table 12 - Appendix I). No correlations between Cultural Empathy and migrants' L1 use for expressing emotions with different interlocutors, L1 self-reported dominance and L1 culture attachment emerged. According to the results, being able to empathise with others and feeling attracted to different cultural values and beliefs were characteristics exclusively linked to individuals' appreciation for new cultural scenarios.

Linear multiple regression analysis was computed in order to find out how much variance in migrants' Cultural Empathy (the dependent variable) could be explained by their sense of belonging to LX culture, their preference for expressing emotions in the LX and the extent to which they perceive their LX as dominant. Regression assumptions were all verified. The Durbin-Watson's test indicated that residuals were uncorrelated and collinearity diagnostics showed that the predictors were not highly inter-correlated (Field, 2000; Szmrecsanyi, 2005). The normality plots (figure 19) shows that data was homoscedastic and that residuals were normally distributed (Field, 2000; Larson-Hall, 2016).

Hence, LX Dominance and LX Acculturation were the only significant predictors of migrants' Cultural Empathy, explaining a total of 8.7 % of the variance (table 16). In this circumstance, LX Emotion Expression failed to reach the level of statistical significance. In particular, LX Acculturation was by far the best predictor of the criterion, explaining over 85% of the total variance. Thus, participants' liking of LX cultural aspects somehow determined the fact that they became progressively more able to empathise with diversity in general. The effect size was small, but strongly significant and consistent with previous findings.

Table 16

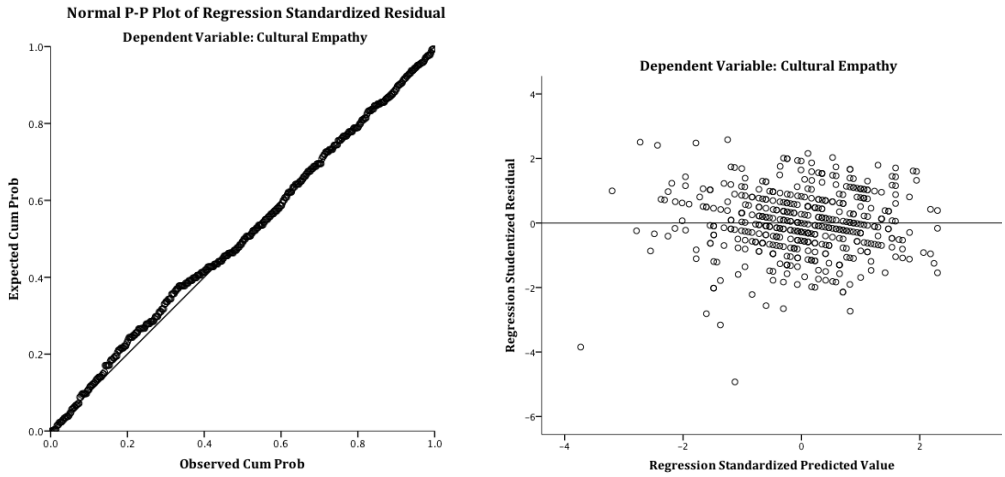
Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' Cultural Empathy

Predictor(s)	r^2	F	p	β	Durbin-Watson	Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance
LX Acculturation	.071	35.75	.000	.267		1.000
LX Acculturation and LX Dominance	.087	22.19	.000	.233 .130	2.062	.934 .934

Dependent variable: Cultural Empathy
Predictors: LX Acculturation, LX Dominance

Figure 19

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' Cultural Empathy



The next paragraph will focus on qualitative insights related to this matter, with the purpose of shedding more lights on statistical outcomes.

IV.6.1.2. Cultural Empathy in migrants' voices

Cultural Empathy is the trait that assesses the capacity to identify with the feelings, thoughts and behavior of individuals from different cultural backgrounds. Considering qualitative findings from interviews, LF openly stated having developed a culturally mixed identity. The extraordinary passion for the English language and culture influenced her inner self. She

consequently admitted not being able to comfortably relate to her hometown friends anymore:

> "I have a mixed-cultural identity now [...] I think, you know... I can't live a life where I have to explain myself constantly and after ten years in London I can't explain myself in Italy... that makes me sad and generally goes back to what I was saying about the passion for a language"

In her experience as a migrant, she trained herself to listen more to the others:

> "I kind of taught myself to listen and then, you know, when I came out the other end of this process I was kind of like 'ok this is how this works' [...] It has taken some adjustments [...] You train yourself to understand what people mean by saying something else... sometime that happens a lot in British culture like people always say something that they don't mean [...] I think it makes you more aware that the codes are different"

LF's words perfectly pictured the twisting of her personality as a result of her migration experience. To interconnect findings together, she explained how this helped her becoming progressively more attentive to the external background and this ultimately guided her towards a greater understanding of the new codes of interactions. The more she grew fond of LX values, learning to apply them to her conversations and to the way she expressed her feelings, the more she valued the importance of being a good listener. Echoing LF's experience, FF explained how she learnt to become more empathic:

> "I have learnt not to make assumptions I just simply observe... I observe maybe I do make a hypotheses but I try to never assume... I wouldn't say that I am a particularly sensitive person, that um... it's been more of a training and I observe through years [...] it has been more like a choice so I probably I've learnt to do it [...] for example sometimes I can tell from the body language if a person is at ease or is not [...] Partly yes, I like to see that I am an empathetic person, so I really empathise with people. For example, I like to watch movies that are [...] complicated psychological movies where people have lots of problems, but the thing is that I like to try to fit in other people's shoes I like to imagine other people's feelings [...] So, partly is natural, but definitely it has been

> enriched and improved by the fact that I have lived in different places and I've seen different situations [...] definitely, this has fine-tuned my attitude to analyse people's feelings [...] Yeah, I think it has more to do with the fact that I lived in different places and I saw different customs, I mean even now in London there are so many different cultures, not just the British one!"

FF explained how her ability to understand diversity was something she absorbed in her migration experience. However, what is important to mention is that her account clearly supported all previous findings in terms of people's acculturation attitudes and their ability to empathise with different cultures. Indeed, she explained that her being empathic towards different beliefs and norms partly came from her natural character and partly from her having lived in different places and her having been in contact with people with diverse backgrounds.

In both these testimonies, their understanding of LX cultural practices and their being in contact with diversity made them more empathetic, good listeners and able understand other people's feelings. Interviewees did not explicitly state how the use of the new language or socialising with locals made them more culturally skilled. However, all the passages presented in previous paragraphs and their personal stories left space for interpreting their attitudes as going towards that direction. The difficulty, in this case, mainly emerged from the fact that participants themselves were not always consciously aware of how their internal transformations and subtle perceptions developed. Overall, they tended to focus more on the whole picture, depicting their experience as a mixture of mutually related factors and conditions where it was hard to identify a line of influence.

IV.6.2. Flexibility

IV.6.2.1. Flexibility in Statistical Analysis

Pearson's Correlation analyses indicated that Flexibility was negatively linked to participants' L1 use for expressing emotions with different interlocutors (table 4 - Appendix I) and L1 culture attachment (table 12 - Appendix I). A marginally significant correlation emerged with their L1 self-reported dominance score (table 7 - Appendix I), whereas no correlation occurred with any LX variable. Thus, L1 Dominance and all LX variables will not be included in further analysis about the present trait. Flexibility results were coherent across the analyses. Indeed, this trait never linked with LX language and culture across all statistical tests. Hence, migrants' attachment for L1 culture and L1 use for expressing emotions were related to their ability to cope with change and their ability to adjust their behavioural patterns to new situations. In other words, participants with a good sense of belonging to their heritage culture, reporting a notable prevalence of L1 in their life for expressing intimate feelings, proved to be more rigid and less adaptable to unfamiliar settings.

Table 17

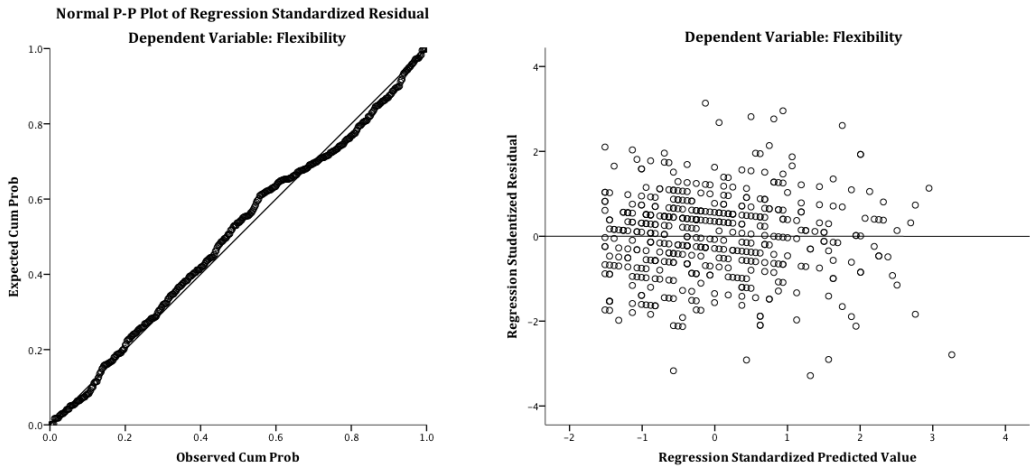
Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' Flexibility

Predictor(s)	r^2	F	p	β	Durbin-Watson	Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance
L1 Acculturation	.028	13.63	.000	-.169	1.869	.923

Dependent variable: Flexibility
Predictors: L1 Acculturation

Linear multiple regression indicated that L1 Acculturation only had a significant, but small effect on Flexibility, explaining a total of 2.8% of the variance (table 17). The tolerance eigenvalue was acceptable (Szmrecsanyi, 2005) and Durbin-Watson's test indicated that residuals were not linearly auto-correlated: 1.862. Figure 20 illustrates the normality probability plots, where data distribution is borderline but still acceptable (Field, 2000). It could be argued that participants' progressive disengagement from their original cultural practices and from L1 use to express emotions slightly increased their adaptability potentials.

Figure 20
Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' Flexibility



Qualitative findings related to the present statistical trends will be illustrated in the following section.

IV.6.2.1. Flexibility in Migrants' Voices

People who score low on Flexibility tend to see new situations as a threat and thus stick to trusted behavioral patterns. Migrants extensively commented on how their experience in a new cultural world made them more

able to cope with change and more adaptable. In other words, participants focused more on how they had become more adaptable thanks to their experience and contact with the LX culture, instead of focusing on their progressive disengagement from their heritage tradition. Therefore, qualitative insights went in a slightly different direction compared to statistical findings. FB, for instance, explained how she became able to easily settle wherever she travels:

> "I probably think it's a kind of thing that your mind and your body are doing sometimes… just being so quick to settle in a situation where you are, so that you don't find yourself a stranger anywhere anymore […] I guess that if you do as many travels as migrants do, you are required to settle that quickly cause otherwise you sort of think 'if I don't settle quickly in the situation I might miss out I might not enjoy as much' so you need to take it on board from the first second"

It could be speculated that experiencing life in different countries or in culturally vibrant environments could really make individuals reconsider their perspective. Yet, FF, who openly admitted new external stimuli helped her becoming more flexible, explained that partly it was something you need to be equipped with before migrating:

> "In all my previous experiences I have been in pretty limited spaces, so coming to London was a big a cultural shock. But <sil> then I mean I got used to it and I liked it. Yes, it was far more vibrant and diverse and open-minded […] I don't really miss Italy that much because the more I go back now and the less I recognise myself in it […] By nature you can be flexible but definitely the experience helps […] You can imagine things but once you see with your own eyes that is not like that… that's when your mind also realises… that's when you see if you are flexible. Because if you are flexible what you see also changes your perspective, if you are not flexible, you know, you will keep thinking that the way you know is the only way… there has to be some external stimulus"

Therefore, to conclude the study on Flexibility, it is crucial to highlight that, in this circumstance, qualitative data provided evidence for a different interpretation of migrants' personality changes while adapting to new

cultural settings, as all participants' testimonies focused on how their experience in the new country made them more adaptable. In order to explain the slight difference from statistical findings, it is important to mention that some migrants' explained that they became much more flexible after the impact with different cultures, but like FF, mentioned that their craving for an extremely culturally diverse environment was somehow the reason for her migration to London. As FF said, her being in contact with such great cultural diversity boosted her flexibility, but that seemed to be something she already had in herself. Furthermore, it could be argued that interviewees did not focus much in their accounts on how this sense of becoming more flexible could be related to their progressive disengagement to their heritage culture. The impact with a new world definitely had more resonance in their life story compared to the relationship with what they left behind. In other words, migration experiences could touch several aspects of human's psyche simultaneously and sometimes it could be extremely complex to unwrap all feelings embedded in individuals' stories. It is possible that. when having to describe the effect of a life experience of this kind, people tend to focus more on the greatest impressions they had rather than on subtle ones.

IV.6.3. Social Initiative

IV.6.3.1. Social Initiative in Statistical Analysis

Pearson's Correlation analyses indicated that participants' Social Initiative was positively linked to their LX use for expressing emotions with different interlocutors (table 4 - Appendix I), LX Dominance (table 7 -

Appendix I) and LX culture attachment (table 12 - Appendix I). No link emerged with any L1 variable. Indeed, it is likely that being extraverted and sociable could be something that might help migrants to integrate in new cultural settings, creating a good network of affective relationships and actively engaging in social relationship with other people in general. Rather, there was no kind of connection between migrants' social profile and their attachment to heritage language and culture. It can be thus concluded that more sociable migrants may feel a stronger attraction to the LX cultural scenario and LX language without necessarily dissociating themselves from their roots. This aspect corroborated the idea that more cultures and languages might coexist in migrants' lives without implying a sort of exclusive choice between them.

Following up the analysis, a linear multiple regression with Social Initiative as a dependent variable indicated that LX Emotion Expression, LX Dominance and LX Acculturation had a significant, but small effect, explaining a total of 6.7% of the variance in the criterion (table 18). The value for the Durbin-Watson's test (table 18) was acceptable (Field, 2000: 874) and tolerance eigenvalues from collinearity diagnostics showed that the independent variables were not highly correlated (Szmrecsanyi, 2005: 142). The P-P normality plot (figure 21) indicated that variances along the line of best fit remained similar along its length and a residual scatterplot showed that data were homoscedastic and there were no significant outliers (Field, 2000).

Table 18

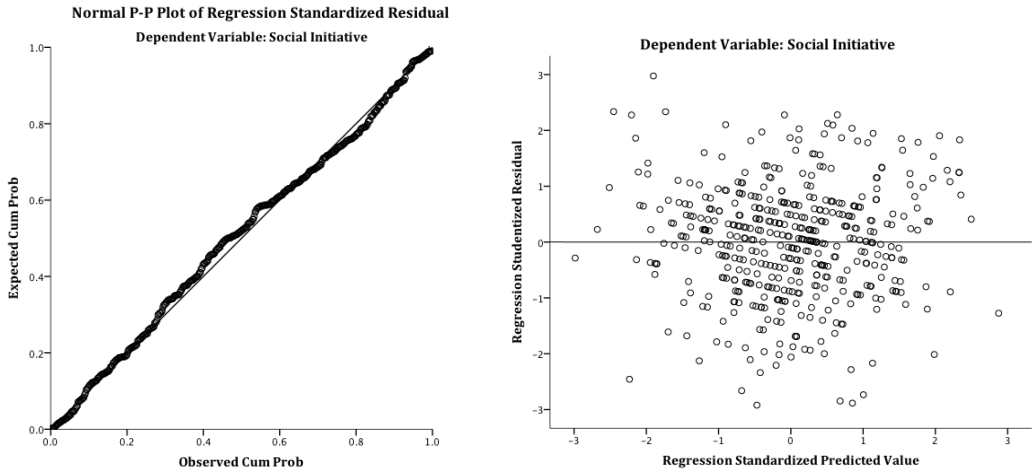
Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' Social Initiative

Predictor(s)	r^2	F	p	β	Durbin-Watson	Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance
LX Emotion Expression	.037	18.96	.000	.198		1.000
LX a Expression and LX Dominance	.052	13.80	.000	.153 .138	1.899	.895 .895
LX Emotion Expression, LX Dominance and LX Acculturation	.067	11.10	.000	.125 .118 .112		.839 .868 .876

Dependent variable: Social Initiative

Figure 21

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' Social Initiative



All assumptions have been verified and all predictors reached the level of statistical significance. In particular, LX Emotion Expression was the best predictor of migrants' Social Initiative scores, explaining almost 4% of the variance in the criterion, while LX Emotion Expression together with LX Dominance explained over 80% of the total amount of variance. In other words, linguistic variables seemed to play a crucial part in terms of enhancing migrants' social skills, whereas the contribution of host cultural attachment

was minimal in comparison. To summarise results, participants that appreciated LX culture practices used the LX to express emotions and considered it their dominant language reported positive changes in their social attitudes across their migration experience.

In the next section, qualitative findings will try to provide a good illustration of statistical findings, shedding more lights on the outcomes.

IV.6.3.2. Social Initiative in Migrants' Voices

Social initiative denotes an individual's tendency to approach social situations actively and to take initiative. Considering some of the open question insights, it could be speculated that the use of an LX – in some instances – empowered individuals' free emotional responses, ultimately making them more confident while socially interacting with others:

> Monia (female, 34, UK): "I actually feel very positive when speaking in English about personal or emotional matters. It comes a lot easier to me than if I were to do that in Italian [...] That way, I can feel more detached and therefore less embarrassed. Certain topics (expressing feelings, love, sex) become extremely easy to discuss when speaking in English"

> CDP (female, 25, Ireland) "I noticed I tend to use English when the matter is somewhat hard for me to express (emotional matters), I guess it's a way for me to distance myself from what I'm saying and making it more bearable to express"

Despite statistical findings not revealing a correlation between migrants' sense of feeling different and their Social Initiative scores, when discussing the differences they noticed when speaking the LX, some participants claimed feeling more confident when using English to discuss embarrassing matters and to overcome their shyness. What they implied is that the new

language made them feel more at ease and extroverted when having to deal with difficult topics or discomforting situations.

Considering interview insights, LF confirmed she found it easier to socialise in English:

> "I find it easier particularly with girls, you know, making friendships… that's easier in English"

In a way, in the new language, she seemed to have found a sort of greater confidence in feminine interactions. All the above accounts explained how speaking the LX, expressing emotions in it and feeling more relaxed in LX interactions could boost individuals' sociability and openness to social interactions of different kinds. Even more explicitly, SG discussed how his migration experience made him more open to deal with different cultures and socialise with diverse people. In particular, he claimed that all migrants generally shared the same craving for interaction:

> "It's easier to socialise here […] I socialise with people that I maybe wouldn't socialise with in Italy, because being a foreigner uh in my experience made me feel like more <sil> open to different kind of people […] I'm more socially skilled now, because I met different people from like what I was used to […] Yeah, especially at work, I constantly meet people from other backgrounds […] there's a kind of common interest of like socialising and at the same […] let's say we have the common fact that we're all immigrants. It's the… willing to socialise, being an immigrant, I guess. So we tend to be more open to it […] I think all the people that came to London… they want to mix with other cultures […] Well, life in London is pretty challenging and it really triggers your creativity and your way of approaching the others and the way you approach your life […] it's a big push for a person like me"

In his narrative, he explained that his experience in the new cultural scenario pushed him to socialise with several people from different backgrounds and he also specifically mentioned that he started socialising with people he would have never socialised with when still in Italy. Migrants' journey across

cultures could indeed be an extremely lonely experience. The need for interaction and the desire to feel grounded could, in this perspective, trigger individuals' social skills. This last testimony uncovered a deep and interesting perspective that could not be revealed by statistical findings.

IV.6.4. Openmindedness

IV.6.4.1. Openmindedness in Statistical Analysis

While no link emerged between Openmindedness and L1 variables, positive correlations occurred between this trait and participants' LX use for expressing emotions with different interlocutors (table 4 - Appendix I), LX Dominance (table 7 - Appendix I) and LX culture attachment (table 12 - Appendix I). Indeed, it is likely that the attraction for novelty and change related to the attraction for new cultural scenarios and language practices without implying a simultaneous disengagement from everything that was familiar, such as heritage language and culture. In other words, migrants who reported feeling a strong sense of belonging to the LX culture and using the LX extensively in their life (also in order to express emotions with different interlocutors) were quite broad-minded.

According to linear multiple regression analysis, LX Dominance and LX Acculturation were the only significant predictors of participants' Openmindedness (the dependent variable), explaining a total variance of 8.4% (table 19).

Table 19

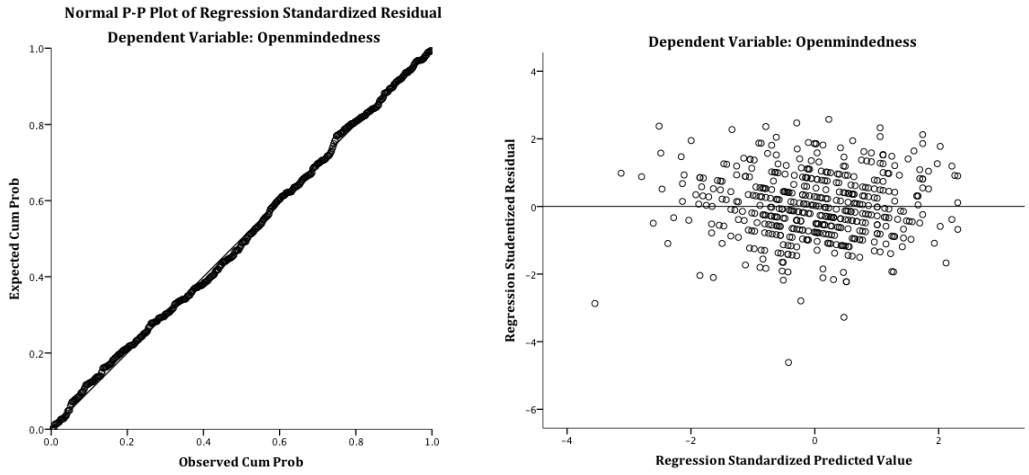
Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' Openmindedness

Predictor(s)	r^2	F	p	β	Durbin-Watson	Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance
LX Acculturation	.053	26.06	.000	.230		1.000
					1.925	
LX Acculturation and LX Dominance	.084	21.38	.000	.183		.934
				.183		.934

Dependent variable: Openmindedness
Predictors: LX Acculturation, LX Dominance

Figure 22

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' Openmindedness



LX Emotion Expression was excluded from regression, having a *p* value of .063. Durbin-Watson's test was equal to 1.925 and tolerance eigenvalues were .934; hence, the assumptions that residuals and independent variables were not correlated were both verified. The lag-plot in figure 22 indicates that errors were mostly independent, while the P-P plot shows the equivalence of residual variances. Both LX Acculturation and LX Dominance were good predictors of the criterion; however, the former explained a higher potion of

variance (5.3%). Therefore, participants' who were more attached to the host culture and also considered the LX as their dominant language also reported feeling like their attitudes towards diversity had become more unprejudiced. Qualitative data will complete the picture in the following paragraph.

IV.6.4.2. Openmindedness in Migrants' Voices

Confirming statistical findings, DP explained in her interview how her experience in the host culture helped her to become more unprejudiced and able to empathise with different cultures:

> "Yes, I think I try to analyse my prejudices when I have them [...] I think I've become more open-minded and more... more open... <sil> but a listener I've always been a listener and I've always been quite a sensitive person and... uh able to empathise. Coming here of course opened me more to other cultures and differences"

In the passage above, she stated that her experience in the LX culture affected her behaviour towards different beliefs and people, while confirming that it did not have the same visible effect on her cultural skills. She did not directly specify what aspect in particular of her life in the new cultural settings boosted her Openmindedness. However, it could be speculated that sometimes it may be quite hard for migrants to identify what specific factor among thousands could have triggered a process like this one.

Considering language dominance, FF recognized the influence of the LX progressive intrusion in her private life on her cognitive operations. She explained how learning to construct phrases in accordance with LX standards contributed to making her more fond of and open to accept LX culture values:

> "When I came here, because I tended to translated directly my thoughts from Italian to English, it was obviously difficult to convey a concept. Now I have learnt to phrase er... to structure my thoughts in the English way. I feel more open to deal with things [...] The shopping list for example I write it in English it's because it's more practical and because I realised that a lot of English words are shorter so... it's easier for me ... again, convenience, I have to go shopping, I have to be clear I have to be efficient, so I think English is again more efficient. That's something I've really learnt to appreciate because it also gives more mental order. It makes me... it clears up a lot in my old confused mind <laughter> [...] sometimes I find it difficult to speak Italian - not because I don't remember the language! I am irritated by the way uh people talk to me in Italy, I find it really garrulous, around the bush..."

In her experience, FF realised the benefit that the use of the new language might have in her behavioral attitudes and daily life.

All previous testimonies supported quantitative findings and added more detail to the analyses of variance performed via statistical tools. Some participants, like DP, said that the experience in a new culture in general made them more unprejudiced and broad-minded, without mentioning any specific factor which contributed more than any other to this. On the other hand, other participants pointed to a specific combination of elements, such as the chance of socialising with people from different backgrounds or having to deal with a different system of values or, for instance, a different language to learn as responsible for their becoming progressively more open to diversity.

IV.6.5. Emotional Stability

IV.6.5.1. Emotional Stability in Statistical Analysis

Pearson's Correlation analyses indicated that participants' Emotional Stability was negatively linked to their L1 use for expressing emotions with different interlocutors (table 4 - Appendix I) and L1 culture attachment (table

12 - Appendix I). No correlation emerged either with migrants' L1 self-reported dominance (table 7 - Appendix I) or with LX variables. In other words, Emotional Stability is a trait that linked with heritage language and culture practices maintenance across all tests performed in this study. Participants who reported being more emotionally guarded also showed a strong attachment to their culture of origin and reported widely using the L1 to express their emotions with different interlocutors.

According to linear multiple regression analysis, L1 Emotion Expression and L1 Acculturation both had a significant but small effect, explaining a total variance of 3.9% in migrants' Emotional Stability (table 20).

Table 20

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' Emotional Stability

Predictor(s)	**r^2**	**F**	**p**	**β**	**Durbin-Watson**	**Collinearity diagnostics Tolerance**
L1 Emotion Expression	.026	12.37	.000	-.161		1.000
					2.063	
L1 Emotion Expression and L1 Acculturation	.035	8.53	.000	-.133		.923
				-.102		.923

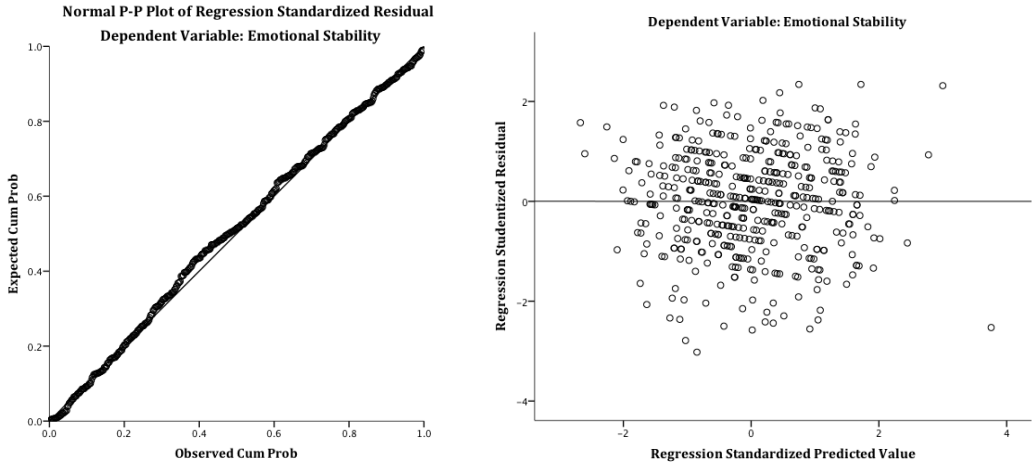
Dependent variable: Emotional Stability
Predictors: L1 Emotion Expression, L1 Acculturation

The Durbin-Watson's test and collinearity diagnostics indicated acceptable results, showing that residuals and independent variables were not highly correlated. However, the lag-plot was approximately acceptable and the normality plots illustrated that residual variances were equal (figure 23). Despite the fact that all assumptions were met to run regression analysis, it must be noted that the effect size was minimal. The best predictor of the trait

here under analysis was L1 Emotion Expression. Indeed, L1 Acculturation surprisingly explained only 0.9% of the variance.

Figure 23

Multiple regression analysis conducted on migrants' Emotional Stability



Hence, participants' attachment to L1 use when expressing personal feelings impacted on their ability to control emotional reactions. In other words, migrants who stuck to their L1 to express emotions ended up having more spontaneous and less constrained emotional reactions due to their higher familiarity with the language, both in terms of pragmatics aspects and behaviour linked to it. Most participants also argued that L1 culture objectively favoured an unguarded and uninhibited expression of emotions, in contrast with LX culture values.

The next section will discuss this aspect and will provide a more accurate interpretation of statistical results.

IV.6.5.1. Emotional Stability in Migrants' Voices

Emotional Stability reflects people's attitude to controlling emotional reactions and remain calm in stressful situations. The impact with a different cultural world can indeed be a cause of frustration, tension, fear, social detachment or interpersonal conflicts. As mentioned previously in this chapter, when answering the open question about the sense of feeling different when using the LX, most participants commented on the detachment the LX allowed them to have when expressing personal feelings. This had been often interpreted as something which allows people to have a more relaxed emotional demeanour:

> GA (female, 29, UK) "When I first moved to the UK I felt like I was speaking but there was no emotional link and in some cases it has been very useful, like speaking without feeling shy or personally involved during job interviews"

> FG (female, 47, UK)"I am more 'logical' when I describe my feelings in English, calmer, and I feel good about that"

In these testimonies migrants explained how the new language pushed them to be more controlled, logical and stable in their emotional reactions. However, this is in contrast to statistical findings. Indeed, quantitative analyses revealed a connection between the L1 use for expressing emotions and lower scores in Emotional Stability traits, whereas no connection emerged with LX use for the same purpose. It would most likely be necessary to dig deeper into migrants' accounts in order to understand what their real linguistic position is when dealing with emotionally charged situations. Indeed, some participants explained that the LX made them feel more controlled when dealing with intimate feelings, but opinions about the L1 use

are often hidden in their narratives. In support of that, some reports have been selected were migrants explicitly explained that Italian was more connected to painful memories or to a more impulsive flowing of emotions that impeded them in finding the right way to control their reactions, while using the LX helped them becoming more controlled:

> PG (female, 55, UK): "Emotional words are lighter in a LX. I feel less anxious and more self-confident when I speak English, as it is not connected to painful memories"

> Valentina (female, 19, UK): "I feel more confident and I can express myself better, with the right words. Maybe this is because I very often think beforehand to what I say in English about emotional matters whereas in Italian the emotions take over and I feel like I am not able to choose the right words to express my feelings"

> EB (female, 35, US): "I always feel like a different person while speaking English, I become more rational, more calm, I am truly a better person in English. I am rush, impulsive and more pushy in Italian"

In the passages above, migrants commented on how the use of the LX helped them regulating their emotional reactions. However, they all explained the phenomenon that by considering how the L1 negatively impacted on their ability to control their emotional flowing. On the other hand, none of the accounts said anything about participants' specific preference for one language rather than another one. Hence, it seems that the use of the L1 offered the opportunity for a more spontaneous and intense, and thus less controlled, emotional expression.

Considering interview insights, FB confessed English helped her a lot in controlling her emotions:

> "I'm much more calm when I speak in English. Words like 'thank you', 'sorry', 'I love you' are much easier for me in English because I don't think that they've got the same meaning they've got in Italian... not that

> they all have a different meaning but they do feel different. If I do speak English I sound much more open and able to deal with emotions rather than if I was talking in Italian [...] I've said in terms of how I do express my emotions it doesn't change if I'm talking in Italian or in English but I'm just more... calm and more polite if I'm talking in English [...] maybe sometimes I feel more myself ... I don't know [...] If my friends could see me in both situations, the Italian friends that have always known me as me, I think that they'd probably see me yeah more... sort of calm"

She also admitted that finding the place where she always wanted to be contributed to curing her emotional stress:

> "I hate getting extremely agitated and I hate getting extremely irritated so I always try to sort of calm down see whether there is something that you can do. If there is nothing that you can do then there is no point to get either angry or nervous [...] I have to say lots of people say I'm a very calm person. So... it's curious cause [...] I can find myself more calm but again more calm in the place where I want to be because I see it when I'm in Italy or when I was in Italy or even now when I go back I can get very quickly angry I don't know it's [...] sometimes it's the society... just an example ... driving can drive me nuts seeing how people are behaving on the road so I get really frustrated [...] since I came here I sort of found my kind of emotional place like 'oh this is like things to be... I'm behaving in this way, I'm giving out these emotions' and also the sort of context helped me to being at place cause there's nothing that gets me angry, frustrated or nervous [...] I have to say that when I go to Italy sometimes I feel like out of place because I do things or express things in the English way [...] there is something that I've noticed in in the last few years how maybe sometimes Italians just to get what they need from the shop, from bureaucracy, from... wherever you go, they may need to be aggressive and I've noticed that my English part is also repulsive of that. I'm not that person anymore, I don't want to be aggressive to take something I don't want to, you know, have an argument when I'm in a queue and someone is jumping the queue"

Following the line of argument presented at the beginning of this paragraph, FB started her discourse about emotions by explaining how she sounds much calmer in English and ended up affirming that in Italian she was definitely more nervous and tense. In her account, she went even further, introducing some cultural elements in the conversation which she believed to be related to her being quick to anger and aggressive while in Italy. The experience in the new culture and the use of the new language in particular helped her to calm down and to find a healthier way of dealing with her emotional needs.

On the basis of FB's experience it could be speculated that the use of L1 to express emotions was usually associated with more intense and less calibrated emotive reactions. Other participants depicted similar but less explicit perceptions in terms of language use for expressing personal feelings and emotional attitudes. For instance, LF acknowledged that English made her much more emotionally restrained and cautious in the way she expressed her anger:

> "If I am angry and I don't know the person I am not gonna offload the anger [...] cause that's the thing I have become more reserved and also a much more passive aggressive that I used to be. I used to blow off at people when I was pissed off with someone. I say these days are... lay buried forever [...] I think I've definitely become more reserved [...] I feel like I don't have to like showcase the entire personality to people I don't know and that's very much something I used to do [...] I think I'm good with emotions, I'm good at emotional truths and I'm good at seeing through people. I think is something that you know I am looking into... in a more conscious way now. There is a degree of struggle <sil> when you're embedding yourself in a different culture and so that makes me more <sil> um... receptive to those kind of issues [...] it doesn't really feel reversible at this stage."

In her words, LF perfectly describes how the struggle she went through while embedding herself in the new culture made her much more able to endure stress and cope with emotionally charged situations. Once again, participants focused more on how the impact with the new culture made them more emotionally stable rather than on how maintaining a strong connection with the L1 language and culture made them more emotionally insecure.

DP illustrated a different perspective. Indeed, she regretted that getting angry in English sometimes altered her personality, making her much more aggressive than what she actually was:

> "I can be angry in English [...] but sometimes at work there are misinterpretations in meetings or discussions in which I don't manage to pass the meaning exactly. Once I was arguing... from the Italian point of

> view it's normal... but, you know, my arguing was taken as an attack <laughter> a couple of times or as very aggressive, while I don't think I'm an aggressive person in general... uh few times yeah it was observed that I was aggressive in a meeting ... well I was maybe more Italian, more expressive... yes it's cultural dimension"

In her case, using the LX to express disappointment or disagreement made her unable to control her emotional response appropriately. She justified her reactions by explaining that she felt strongly related to her heritage and that she missed a more genuine way of expressing opinions and personal things. On several occurrences, she confirmed her emotional self was Italian and that she tended to rely on her L1 to express emotions, as it felt more natural, while conveying emotional messages in the LX did not feel authentic. Hence, her lack of emotional control could also be interpreted as her deliberate choice. This is why, when people are forced to use the LX to express personal opinions, it may lead to a lack of pragmatic calibration. This latter example confirmed that maintaining a strong preference for the L1 for expressing emotions could ultimately lead migrants to have more spontaneous emotional states, and thus a lack of regulation when having to express emotions in the LX as well. In other words, the maintenance of a strong preference for the L1 could translate into a lack of training in terms of learning new emotional scripts, and therefore a lack of pragmatic calibration of the emotions when discussing in the LX.

It can thus be concluded that, in qualitative insights, migrants focused much more on how the LX use made them more controlled in their emotional reactions instead of directly confirming statistical findings. This discrepancy could be explained in different ways. First, it is important to mention that, in survey insights, migrants were directly asked to comment on their feelings

when speaking the LX. This is why they might have focused mainly on how the new language made them less spontaneous when it came to expressing feelings in it. Also, all comments about being more logical and controlled when using the LX could actually hide a lot about their perceptions in terms of the L1. It can be speculated that they felt less spontaneous when expressing emotions in the LX because their emotional language was still the L1. In some instances this was clearly confirmed, such as when FB questioned her love expression in the LX as being too attenuated to be true compared to her dialectic counterpart, or LF when she eventually got together with someone from her home town and felt good when she could loudly and openly express her anger and her love again by using the L1 and relying on L1 emotion scripts. In support of this, DP's story reveal good insights. On the occasion of the sad event that constituted a turning point of her life, she went back to Italy for a while and reverted to her Italian *persona* as she felt that her pain was misunderstood in the LX and she could not express her suffering in it. Similarly, she confessed that speaking in English to her son felt absolutely unnatural; she admitted feeling colder and less emotional in the LX, as her emotional identity was fully Italian. By considering all these aspects together, it could be argued that her strong attachment to the L1 for expressing her inner feeling prevented her from developing the skills to match her emotional reactions to the new cultural settings. In other words, it is possible that she ended up being more emotionally tense when having to deal with the LX because of the strong tie she kept with her L1 culture, L1 emotion scripts and L1 emotionality. According to this interpretation, qualitative and quantitative findings went towards the same direction.

IV.6.6. Migrants' comments on Personality Changes

To conclude the present analytic path, some narratives centred on how speaking the LX could generally influence personality will be presented. Indeed, participants often had difficulties in focusing on one aspect of the personality or one aspect of their migration history at a time. Some migrants simply commented on the fact they became more rational in English, as they learnt to better organise their thoughts through the use of more concise language:

> Francesca (female, 41,UK): English is a more succinct language. This helps me rationalise and organise my thoughts"

> ET (Italian-Chinese-Vietnamese female, 32, UK): "When I speak English I tend to better organise the sentences [...] Therefore in my opinion this influences my way of thinking as well. Especially when I talk about work I feel this is more effective"

Other participants observed that language could contribute to formulating thoughts and ideas. It is thus to be expected that individuals might end up having different ways of thinking in different languages:

> Giuseppe (male, 29, UK): You fall into a state of mind where your knowledge and command of the language tries to dictate what you say. This can influence not only the way I express ideas, but also sometimes slightly change the ideas themselves"

Finally, some others provided more elaborated reflections, highlighting how the language could contribute to develop different shades of individuals' personality:

> IC (female, 22, UK): *"Mi sento diversa. E' come se una me più sicura e più libera stia parlando. Certo, ho molta più conoscenza della lingua*

> *italiana che di quella inglese e quindi migliore capacita` di esprimere quello che penso in italiano. However, psicologicamente il parlare in inglese tira fuori la me più positiva. Quando parlo in italiano, invece, torno a sentirmi pessimista rispetto alla vita e al futuro."*
>
> [I feel different, as if a freer and more confident 'self' were speaking. Surely, I have a higher knowledge of Italian language compared to English language, thus better chances to express what I think. However, from a psychological perspective, speaking in English reveals the positive 'self'. On the other hand, when I speak Italian, I become pessimistic again

In connecting all these aspects together, the consistent use of a language, the experience in a different world and the fact that a language could bring out new aspects of the self, SG perfectly depicted how, in his migration experience, he relied a lot on his natural tendencies and at the same time undertook a process of change while acculturating:

> "Some things have become more important like being able to adapt to something a little different. You have to re-think your background, to re-think all the things you've grown up with [...] I think that was something I always had and I fulfilled it when I came here in UK, because I faced it, I faced another culture and for sure if I didn't have that kind of spirit of adaptation and the curiosity of trying to go over my cultural background... I wouldn't have succeeded... I wouldn't have come here"

To summarise, all these last quotes showed how participants commented on the fact that the experience in a new culture, their progressive conforming to its norms, emotional scripts or values, and their extensive use of the LX for different purposes and in different domains of their life improved their cultural and social skills greatly, making them different people. It is important to mention that no personality traits – from statistical analysis – resulted in a link to both L1 and LX variables. Hence, the hypothesis that cultures and languages can simultaneously coexist in migrants' reality has been proved as consistent. Migrants' narratives provided crucial insights showing how different sides of their personalities kept them linked to their

heritage language and culture and other features of their personality pushed them towards the host culture and language.

IV.7. Final Observations

In order to provide a better picture of all connections among migrants' language attitudes, emotions, cultural orientations and personality traits, all results have been summarised in tables 21 and 22 (Appendix I). Participants' language preferences for emotion expression and self-reported language dominance seemed to match their cultural orientation. More specifically, informants who reported frequently expressing emotions in the L1 and considered it a dominant language were more attached to L1 culture practices. Likewise, participants who reported regularly using the LX to express emotions and who considered it a dominant language were more attached to LX culture practices.

In terms of personality, Flexibility and Emotional Stability traits seemed to be related to migrants' L1 language practices for expressing emotions and only marginally related to L1 Dominance. On the other hand, Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness were related to both migrants' LX Emotion Expression and LX Dominance. Results were coherent across all analytic threads, as personality traits were similarly distributed in terms of migrants' cultural orientations. More precisely, Flexibility and Emotional Stability were linked to L1 culture attachment, whereas Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness were related to LX culture attachment. Furthermore, informants' sense of feeling different when using the LX with different interlocutors was negatively

related to the trait Emotional Stability and marginally linked to their LX culture orientation, while participants' sense of feeling different when using the LX for different matters was negatively related to both Emotional Stability and their sense of belonging to the LX culture.

All analytic threads indicated highly significant results and initial hypotheses were generally confirmed. Considering participants' emotion expression attitudes, while their cultural orientation showed a small influence on their language choice for expressing emotions, only Emotional Stability and Social Initiative had an effect on respondents' L1 use and LX use respectively for expressing personal feelings (hypothesis 1). Likewise, migrants' language choice for expressing emotions showed an effect on their cultural orientations (hypothesis 4) and on few personality traits (hypotheses 5-6). More specifically, informants' L1 use for expressing emotions indicated a small variance on their L1 culture attachment and Emotional Stability, while their LX use for expressing emotions explained a small variance in their LX culture attachment, Social Initiative and Openmindedness traits.

The hypothesis focused on migrants' self-perceptions when using the LX has also been partly confirmed. Indeed, participants' sense of feeling different was constrained by their appreciation of for LX culture values and practices only when arising from the topic of conversation and not from the type of interlocutor. Furthermore, only the trait Emotional Stability – from statistical results – seemed to increase with participants' feelings of difference when using the LX. According to qualitative results, participants' also commented on their social skills, suggesting the possibility of Social Initiative's influence on their self-perceptions when using the LX. However,

this phenomenon was not confirmed by quantitative findings. Indeed, only a marginal correlation between this trait and migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX for different matters emerged from correlation analyses.

Considering informants' self-reported language dominance, all hypotheses have been partially confirmed. In particular, no personality trait had an effect on L1 Dominance, whereas respondents' LX culture orientation, Social Initiative and Cultural Empathy had an effect on LX Dominance (hypothesis 2). Moreover, LX Dominance explained a small variance in host culture attachment (hypothesis 4) and Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness traits (hypothesis 6).

The hypothesis concerning the influence of migrants' personality profiles on their cultural orientation was confirmed. Flexibility and Emotional Stability explained a small amount of variance in respondents' L1 Acculturation, while Cultural Empathy and Openmindedness determined a small variance on their LX Acculturation. Overall, qualitative findings confirmed and explained statistical trends and added more consistent shades to the interaction among these variables.

In conclusion, L1 and LX variables always displayed independent sets of correlates with personality aspects. In other words, no personality trait simultaneously related to both L1 and LX variables (cultural orientation or emotion expression or any other variable). This is the most meaningful finding of the present analysis as it is in line with the initial assumption postulating the possibility for migrants simultaneously engage with different languages and cultural scenarios. It must be said that findings were rich and

coherent; however, it is important to mention that the amount of variance, generally varied between very small to small (between 2.8% and 8%) and occasionally reached the range of a medium effect (between 9% and 12.5%).

The following chapter will examine each hypothesis and discuss results in detail, linking quantitative and qualitative findings with the literature previously reviewed.

Chapter V

Discussion of Findings: Migrants' Linguistic and Cultural Hybridity

V.1. Introduction

The previous chapter centred on quantitative and qualitative data analyses. Results have been presented together in order to provide a more detailed overview of migrants' experience, where qualitative insights illustrate and explain quantitative ones (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Generally, qualitative findings confirmed statistical trends, with occasional exceptions. In each circumstance where migrants' narrative introduced new themes or diverged from quantitative results, a further explanation has been attempted. The present chapter aims to go deeper into the analysis, linking findings with previous research reviewed in Chapter II, discussing hypotheses, ultimately providing a more complete synopsis of the outcomes of this research.

Research questions will be restated and each hypothesis will be considered in detail. Specifically, the discussion of results will follow the enquiry line set through research questions in Chapter II.

V.2. The Rationale of this Thesis

The main argument behind this thesis is that migrants' linguistic attitudes (emotion expression, language dominance and self-perceptions when speaking the LX), cultural orientation and personality profiles are all connected. In other words, the relationship between linguistic, socio-cultural,

and psychological variables is believed to be bi-directional. Thus, every factor involved is accountable for explaining some variance in all other factors. For theoretical reasons, variables have been grouped as related to migrants' linguistic attitudes, cultural attitudes or personality attitudes. The fact that variables have been divided into three groups meant that the study has been undertaken according to three different paths: a linguistic analysis, a cultural analysis and a personality analysis. Each analytic thread was indeed centred on a different set of variables, considered as the dependent one, while the remaining two sets of variables were the independent ones. The main purpose of the three-path distinction was to maintain theoretical consistency. However, the original question behind this project aimed to enquire about reciprocity of relationships between all variables. Hence, it focused on all three sets of variables simultaneously, interconnecting socio-cultural, linguistic and psychological variables at the same time. Occasionally, statistical analysis had to divide some research questions into separate tests that will be presented together in order to provide a theoretically consistent answer to the initial enquiry as it was originally formulated. Nonetheless, in order to provide a clear answer to the main research question and to offer a wider perspective on the migrants' experience, a final section will pull all findings together, incorporating previous literature, creating a cohesive context of discussion.

V.3. Questions, Hypotheses and Findings

V.3.1. Hypotheses on Linguistic Aspects

This series of hypotheses focused on linguistic variables indicating migrants' attitudes and perceptions towards the L1 and the LX. Specifically, it considered the possibility that migrants' L1 and LX use for expressing emotions, self-perceived language dominance and self-perceptions when using the LX could change in accordance with their cultural orientation and personality profiles. Each single hypothesis will be discussed in detail in the following paragraphs, on the basis of statistical and qualitative findings.

V.3.1.1. Can cultural orientation and personality dimensions explain migrants' language choice for expressing emotions?

The first hypothesis of the present dissertation concerned migrants' emotion expression in the L1 and the LX. Participants' language choice for expressing emotions was expected to reflect their cultural orientation and to relate differently to their personality profile. More specifically, informants showing a strong sense of belonging to the L1 culture were expected to frequently use the L1 for expressing emotions. Conversely, participants reporting feeling more attached to their host culture were expected to regularly use the LX to express their emotions. In terms of personality, it was suggested that no trait would display inverse correlations (positive and negative) with both L1 and LX Emotion Expression variables. This hypothesis was formulated on the basis of previous literature (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele, 2006, 2007, 2004c, 2008, 2010, 2011; Hammer, 2016; Matsumoto, 1994, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-

Ponikwia, 2013, 2017; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, 2013, 2014; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004) – listed in Chapter II (section II.7.2.) – and theoretical assumptions (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; De Leersnyder, Grosjean, 2001, 2015; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz, & al. 2010) – listed in Chapter I (section I.5.)

Considering cultural aspects first, statistical analyses confirmed that the L1 was on average the preferred one to express intimate feelings, confirming Bilingualism and Emotion Questionnaire (BEQ) outcomes (Dewaele, 2004c, 2006, 2007, 2010a, 2011; Pavlenko, 2006). Indeed, even when consistent use of the LX characterised multilinguals' daily life, previous research confirmed that participants still preferred their L1 for swearing, addressing their children or for their inner speech (Dewaele, 2011, 2015). Dewaele (2006) uncovered similar patterns for language choice for the expression of anger, where the L1 was usually the preferred language. In his research, however, participants who learned a language in a naturalistic environment had a higher frequency of use of this language when getting angry. Given that participants in this study are migrants and that the LX under analysis was the local language of the country they lived in, Dewaele's (2006) research could offer some hints to help interpret the present results. Similarly, Dewaele (2004c, 2007, 2011), when analysing the perceived emotional force of taboo and swear words in multilinguals' different languages, discovered that L1 swear and taboo words were rated much stronger in emotional force than those in any LX learned later in life. Yet, participants who had learned the LX in a naturalistic environment and reported using it frequently were more likely to perceive a higher emotional

force of LX taboo words. Among all of the studies, the most interesting for the discussion of the present hypothesis is Dewaele's (2008) examination of multilinguals' perception of the emotional weight of the phrase 'I love you'. Indeed, his findings revealed that multilinguals typically perceived the phrase 'I love you' as having stronger emotional weight in their L1. However, statistical analyses showed that the perception of the phrase 'I love you' was associated with LX learning history, use, context and age of acquisition, self-perceived competence as well as a prolonged period of socialisation. Dewaele argued that the increased emotional weight assigned to the phrase 'I love you' in an LX could be seen as an indication of a conceptual shift towards the LX for this particular emotion script, specifically due – amongst other factors – to participants' degree of affective socialisation within the LX community. As further evidence of this, Dewaele's (2010a) analysis of multilinguals' language perceptions found a gradual decline for perceived LX usefulness, colourfulness, richness, poetic character and emotionality in accordance with the frequency of use. All these previous findings suggested that emotional speech acts happen most frequently in the multilinguals' emotional language, which is generally the L1. However, some elements, such as the context of use of the language as well as prolonged and intense LX affective socialisation, could boost LX emotionality and the development of LX emotional scripts. Indeed, Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) argued that a longer immersion in the LX culture could link to a gradual shift in linguistic practices and perceptions, where the LX might start matching the L1 in multilinguals' hearts and minds (Hammer, 2015; 2016). Findings of her study on the perception of the sentence 'I love you' among Polish-English bilinguals suggested that socialisation into L2 culture as well as frequent L2 use might be the key

factors predicting the emotional expression in the L2 and thus determining successful communication of emotions in the foreign language (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2017). Hence, previous research showed that participants who had intensely socialised with LX society reported local linguistic practices, including swearing or other emotional scripts (Dewaele, 2010a, 2011; Hammer, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017; Pavlenko, 2006).

Despite displaying a general preference for the L1, findings proved that participants tended to orient their language choice for expressing emotions according to their preferences in terms of cultural practices. Matsumoto (1994) claimed that bilinguals have two distinct cultural orientations, disclosed by each of their languages, and that individuals' perception of emotions is dependent on the language spoken (Matsumoto and Assar, 1992). It could be argued that emotion expression variables could offer an indication of migrants' degree of affective engagement within L1 and LX society (Hammer, 2016). Indeed, the purpose of producing a composite variable including migrants' preferences for expressing anger, love and for swearing was to provide a general indication of participants' affective socialisation within the L1 and LX society. In other words, the emotion expression variables used here measured the frequency of use of a language for expressing emotions on the basis of both their subjective preferences and also their network of interlocutors. It was in fact speculated that the choice of a specific language to express emotions could be partly due to individuals' emotional needs but also to their interlocutors' linguistic skills and the overall understanding of local emotional scripts. In this circumstance, participants that were more interested in maintaining a solid connection with

their original culture – and assumedly were also keener on engaging with people from the same heritage – tended to use the L1 to express emotion more frequently. On the contrary, participants who felt a strong attachment to their host culture – and probably also sought for more contact with locals – tended to regularly use the LX to express emotions. More precisely, the present hypothesis argued that participants' cultural orientation determined the way they selected their languages for expressing emotions. Hence, migrants' attachment to L1 values and practices and their consequent inclination to interact mostly with people from the same heritage was expected to predict a higher use of the L1 for expressing emotions. Conversely, migrants' appreciation and understanding of LX practices and traditions and consequent willingness to seek contact with locals was believed to contribute to the process of internalisation of new emotional patterns – typical of the LX – and thus conform migrants' language selection when expressing emotions accordingly. This consideration can also be found in Hammer's (2016) study, where she argued that migrants' social attitudes in terms of seeking for L2-speaking peers resulted in them feeling more themselves in the L2, also from an emotional point of view (Pavlenko, 2013, 2014).

Regression analyses confirmed that migrants' cultural orientation explained a small amount of variance in their language choice for emotion expressions, where L1 Acculturation accounted for a small portion of variance in L1 Emotion Expression and LX Acculturation explained some variance in LX Emotion Expression. In their narratives, participants who greatly felt like belonging to their L1 culture mentioned how they could only emotionally

engage with their L1. Often, they explained that this aspect was not related to a lack of knowledge of the LX, but rather to their own emotional preferences. Conversely, participants who largely appreciated new cultural traits gave signs of a wider understanding of LX practices in terms of emotion expression and of a more advanced internalisation of new emotional scripts. A higher use of the LX could indeed also indicate a higher level of emotional acculturation, and thus a sort of emotional concordance with mainstream patterns for expressing emotions (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011). Considering literature in support of the effects of cultural orientation on language use, De Leersnyder, Mesquita and Kim (2011) showed that migrants' exposure to the host culture was a predictor of their emotional acculturation. In other words, participants who had spent a larger proportion of their life in the host country and also had more contact with locals were more likely to be emotionally acculturated as a result of intercultural interactions and relationships. The researchers concluded that interpersonal relationships are rather culturally contextualised and of vital importance in acculturation processes, and that migrants' emotion repertoire seemed to be shaped and enriched as a consequence of their interactions within different cultural contexts (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; Mesquita, 2010). However, other research demonstrated that the length of stay in the host culture does not directly affect the expression of emotions in the LX, but could negatively impact on the use of the L1 in intimate situations (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Consequently, this contribution did not aim to specifically investigate migrants' length of stay, but focused on the degree of their social interactions with locals and with people from their heritage, similar to what Hammer (2016) investigated when analysing migrants' personal perceptions

in the L2. In this way, results offered evidence that social interaction can transform migrants' patterns of emotional experience, confirming all preceding studies (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; Dewaele, 2008, 2010a; Hammer, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017; Pavlenko, 2006).

It must be acknowledged that participants' preference for expressing intimate feelings in the L1 did not emerged as an obstacle to their overall appreciation of local practices. This important finding explains why, in most cases, even when the LX progressively acquired a higher emotional status, the L1 unconditionally remained the language of the heart (Dewaele, 2004c, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010a, 2011, 2015; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1999). This thesis somewhat showed that multilinguals' minds are indeed characterised by a certain amount of hybridity (Dewaele, 2016a; Grosjean, 2002, 2010) and attempted to describe how languages and cultures could coexist and relate in migrants' minds, confirming a strong link between cultural attachment, affective socialisation and language use for emotion expression (Dewaele, 2008, 2010a; Hammer, 2016; Matsumoto, 1994; Matsumoto & Assar, 1992; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017).

Considering personality traits, migrants' L1 and LX use for expressing emotion was expected to change according to their personality characteristics. In particular, it was speculated that no personality trait would simultaneously link to both variables measuring participants' language choice for expressing emotions if reporting an inverse pattern of relationship (positive and negative). As expected, L1 and LX variables seemed to relate in different ways to different dimensions of migrants' personality. Specifically, they showed a coherent and independent set of correlates with personality traits. The use of

the L1 for expressing emotions showed a negative link with participants' Flexibility and Emotional Stability scores, while the use of the LX for the same purpose was positively related to migrants' Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness scores. The fact that each personality feature related to either L1 or LX use for expressing emotions could be interpreted as a realistic explanation of how languages and culture can blend in migrants' life. In other words, individuals' personality characteristics synchronised with their different attitudes in terms of language choice for expressing emotions, allowing the possibility of coexistence of languages and cultures without creating internal dichotomies. In particular, the traits that showed a connection with the L1 use and will, throughout the whole analysis, link to L1 variables were Flexibility and Emotional Stability. Flexibility is associated with people's ability to adjust their behaviour to new situations (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2000). When encountering a new culture it is important to be able to adapt personal attitudes because customary and trusted ways of doing things do not always work in a new cultural environment. This is also valid in terms of emotion expressions. There is a large body of research proving that emotion terms cannot be easily translated from one language to another one (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2016; Panayiotou, 2004; Pavlenko 2002a, 2002b, 2008; Sachs and Coley, 2006), that emotional scripts differ across cultures and languages (Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, 2008; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004) and that they are deeply embedded into the cultural model that generated them (Mesquita, 2010; Pavlenko, 2008; Scherer, 1997b; Wierzbicka, 1992). The way people interpret their own emotions therefore depends on the lexical grid provided by the L1 (Harkins & Wierzbicka, 2001) and specific linguistic differences are rooted in specific

cultural practices (Wierzbicka, 1992, 1999, 2004). However, previous research proved that individuals could understand LX emotions as they learn the socio-cultural significance they convey through LX socialisation (Dewaele, 2008; 2010a; Panayiotou, 2001, 2004; Pavlenko, 2006, 2008). Hence, it is likely that more rigid participants, who could see the impact of a new culture more as a threat than a challenge, tended to stick to trusted emotional patterns and thus resulted in being less able to conform their linguistic attitudes accordingly.

Likewise, Emotional Stability produced a negative result in relation to migrants' L1 use for expressing emotions. It must be considered that the lack of flexibility, as presented above, goes well together with behavioural attitudes that are typical of individuals with low scores on Emotional Stability, like the tendency to worry in stressful situations, and the inclination to experience frustration, tension and insecurity (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee's, 2000). Indeed, migrating to another country could represent by itself a strong occasion of psychological and emotional discomfort and the distress could also be hugely increased by the fact that linguistic and cultural barriers prevent migrants expressing emotions and experiencing them the way they are used to (Dewaele, 2010). All these considerations could explain why participants who were more emotionally instable preferred to stick to their L1 for expressing their feelings, finding comfort and security in it. Regression analysis excluded Flexibility as a significant predictor of variance in migrants' L1 use for expressing emotions. Indeed, participants mainly voiced their sense of emotional constraint when having to relate to the LX culture and language and expressed a strong emotional attachment to the L1 as the

language that could convey a more natural and realistic representation of their inner feelings. Being emotionally insecure widely surpassed the sense of rigidity versus unknown situations in migrants' psychological profiles. In other words, the emotional struggles had such a strong resonance in migrants' life and psyche that eclipsed their lack of flexibility when discussing the matter of expressing emotions in the L1.

On the contrary, LX findings reported positive correlations with Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness traits. More precisely, LX Emotion Expression positively linked to all remaining traits. The fact that high scores on Flexibility and Emotional Stability were not positively linked to frequent LX use for expressing emotions could be interpreted as a sign that, while being more emotionally stressed and insecure could determine a higher attachment to everything that is familiar in order to reduce the sense of threat being confident with change and novelty and less anxious did not necessarily imply a higher appreciation for everything that is new and unknown. In their narratives, some participants mentioned their struggle in their migration experience and often linked it to the fact they could not emotionally adapt to the use of a different language for expressing love to their partners (Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2017), or to talk to their children. Yet, they sometimes commented on how their migration experience was a strong source of enrichment, especially in terms of acquiring a new emotional perspective. These testimonies mostly focused on people's understanding of emotional scripts or LX emotionality rather than the actual use of the LX for expressing emotions (Hammer, 2016). It could be speculated that informants could have learnt

and appreciated a new way of expressing their intimate feelings but still decided to stick to their L1 when talking to their children or their loved ones, perhaps because their most intimate relationships happened to be with people of the same heritage. Indeed, a large number of participants claimed not to have a family of their own or a partner. Hence, it can be assumed that, in the present sample of late migrants, participants still had limited chances to express emotions in the LX. In this context, being rigid and emotionally insecure impeded the possibility of exploring different emotional patterns both from a linguistic and cognitive point of view. On the other hand, being more flexible surely offered migrants the opportunity of a wider understanding of local emotional practices and probably the opportunity to have a real choice in terms of what language to use for expressing emotions. However, this did not necessarily guide them towards to choosing the LX.

Considering the personality traits that showed a connection to the LX use for expressing emotions, it is important to mention that Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness are recurrently mentioned in multilingualism and multiculturalism studies (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Peltokorpi and Froese, 2011; Ventura & al., 2016). Being socially and culturally skilled and feeling attracted by diverse environments have often been considered as aspects that increase the chances of a successful acculturation (Kim, 2001, 2008). Logically, to effectively function in a diverse cultural scenario, it is important to acquire some understanding of that environment first. Individuals who score high on Cultural Empathy are able to understand and identify with ideologies and practices different from their heritage. In this circumstance,

findings widely confirmed that migrants who had an attraction for cultural practices different from their own tended to use the LX frequently to express emotions. Indeed, the attraction for culturally different practices probably increased the exposure to different linguistic practices and ultimately led migrants to mix with a wider network of LX interlocutors with whom they eventually had to share their emotions. Furthermore, it must be stated that it is understandable that people with high scores on this trait did not necessarily disengage from their heritage practices. Indeed, being highly culturally skilled means being able to appreciate cultural differences and does not automatically imply the rejection of well-known practices.

Similar results emerged with the trait Social Initiative. Considering that people with high scores in Social Initiative are more out-going and talkative in general, they could realistically have more opportunities to express personal feelings in the LX, also having a wider network of interlocutors. Previous research confirmed that more extroverted people use a wider range of emotional terms (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002) and tend to actively participate in social interactions gaining more opportunities to engage with the LX community (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Specifically, the trait 'Extraversion' emerged as having a significant role in the development of emotion vocabulary, confirming the argument that sociable people are less anxious and use a wider range of emotional and colloquial terms (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002). On the other hand, the fact that people with low scores on this scale did not report using the L1 extensively to express their emotions could be explained by assuming that people that are shy and introverted tend to engage much less in social interactions in general and therefore report

lower degrees of affective socialisation in any language. Regression analyses proved that, among all traits, Social Initiative only was the only one to account for variance in migrants' LX use for expressing emotions. This could be considered as a sign of the importance that social skills have in LX affective socialisation processes. Indeed, those qualitative insights that mentioned a certain degree of enjoyment when learning to express emotions in the LX were usually centred on discussing friendship relations with LX speakers. Some participants expressed the sense of easiness and liberation they had when using the LX to socialise and interact with other people, recalling previous research (Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017; Hammer, 2016).

Finally, considering Openmindedness results, it is important to remember that several studies connected this personality characteristic to individuals' level of multilingualism, defined as the number of languages known (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven; Korzilius, van Hooft, Planken, and Hendrix; 2011) or to the frequency of use of language of the country migrants live (Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012) or even to the emotional liberation an LX could provide (Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017). Therefore, it is not surprising that it positively correlated with participants' LX use for expressing emotions. Indeed, it is likely that the more participants tended to be unprejudiced, the more they were open to take on traits from new cultures, including emotional behaviour and linguistic patterns for expressing emotions. On the other hand, people who score low on this dimension are characterized by a predisposed attitude to judge and stereotype other groups, something that could affect their overall level of affective interaction with the LX community but does not necessarily imply a

higher affective interaction with people from the same heritage. This is why Openmindedness did not link to L1 Emotion Expression.

The current paragraph discussed the hypothesis (1) centred on migrants' language choice for emotion expression as a dependent variable, which has been generally confirmed. Further thoughts will be presented in the final discussion that will incorporate all hypotheses together.

V.3.1.2. Can cultural orientation and personality dimensions explain migrants' language dominance?

The second hypothesis considering variance in migrants' linguistic attitudes focused on the influence cultural orientation and personality profiles might have on self-perceived language dominance. Participants' self-reported language dominance was expected to reflect their cultural orientation and to relate differently to their personality profiles. Specifically, migrants' who reported a strong sense of belonging to the L1 culture were expected to perceive the L1 as a dominant language. Conversely, respondents who reported feeling attached to their LX culture were expected to perceive the LX as highly dominant in their life. Also, personality traits were supposed to indicate coherent correlations with both L1 and LX Dominance. In other words, language dominance was believed to be a direct linguistic indication of individuals' acculturation attitudes and to change according to their personality profiles, where no personality trait was inversely (positively and negatively) linked to both L1 and LX self-reported dominance at the same time. This hypothesis was formulated on the basis of previous literature (Dewaele, 2004c; Grosjean, 2002, 2015, 2010; Hammer, 2015, 2016; Harris,

2004; Matsumoto, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017) – listed in Chapter II (section II.7.2.) – and theoretical assumptions (Grosjean, 2002, 2010, 2015; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz, & al. 2010) – listed in Chapter I (section I.5.)

On average, participants tended to perceive the L1 as more dominant than the LX. A lot of their comments echoed previous considerations about the higher emotional status of the L1 (Dewaele, 2004c, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010a, 2011, 2015; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006) and how the language could more accurately reflect the original values and beliefs. Correlation analyses confirmed that migrants' self-reported dominance reflected their cultural attachment. However, no relationship emerged between L1 Dominance and personality dimensions, while LX Dominance linked to the same traits that LX Emotion Expressions was related to: Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness. Hence, the hypothesis has been partially confirmed. However, results followed the same direction of the previous ones, producing a coherent picture of migrants' experience across cultures and languages.

Focusing on migrants' cultural orientation first, it emerged that informants who felt strongly connected to their L1 culture were keener on considering the L1 as dominant in several domains of their life. In qualitative insights, participants voiced their attachment to their L1 and explained how this had nothing to do with a lack of knowledge of the LX. Rather, people explained their cognitive affiliation to the L1 as due to cultural aspects. Migrants confirmed that they deliberately let the L1 intrude in specific spheres of their life, such as personal agendas, family conversations, psychotherapy, humour and informal conversations with friends. Clearly,

qualitative testimonies revealed how the decision to stick to a specific language was generally consciously motivated by or directly linked to their perceiving it as more suitable to serve a specific function in their life. Statistical tests also indicated that participants' self-reported LX dominance was positively linked to their sense of belonging to the LX culture. Hence, those who tended to appreciate LX culture practices and customs were more likely to consider the LX as a dominant language. This latter finding could contribute to clarifying previous theories regarding language dominance. Indeed, if language dominance may change within a lifetime (Gertken, Amengual & Birdsong, 2014: 211; Harris, 2004; Harris & al., 2006, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013), this shift does not happen automatically and the cause is not immediately evident. Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) showed that high levels of self-perceived L2 dominance were linked to frequent emotion expression in the L2 among bilinguals. Her study corroborated Pavlenko's idea (2008, 2013, 2014) suggesting that language dominance mediates language emotionality, so that LX users who underwent LX affective socialisation may perceive the LX as more emotional (Pavlenko, 2013: 17; Hammer, 2016). As proof of this, in migrants' personal considerations, language dominance and emotionality were often connected, especially when they were describing their attachment for the L1, explaining how it was the only language they could use with their children or the only one in which deep, strong feelings acquired meaning. In participants' narratives focusing on the LX as the dominant language, the L1 was still depicted as a powerful language that maintained an intact emotional supremacy and rarely surpassed the emotionality evoked by the L1 (Altarriba, 2006; Dewaele, 2004c, 2008, 2010a, 2015; Pavlenko, 2006). However, the amount of authentic interaction

and socialisation with LX speakers seemed to lead participants to perceive the LX as progressively more emotional and potentially more dominant in their affective life (Dewaele, 2008, 2010a, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017). Therefore, embracing a language and implanting it in all private spheres of life could be a sign of deep attachment to the culture that produces that language. The emotional and practical connection to a language seemed to reveal a wider understanding and appreciation of cultural values, norms and practices behind it, as previous studies confirmed with regards to participants' progressive shift to LX dominance (Hammer, 2015). Furthermore, these results proved once again that L1 and LX cultures and languages were not perceived as interchangeable. Indeed, nothing prevented participants from perceiving both their cultures and languages as equally dominant in their life. Qualitative data highlighted how migrants' selected one or another language in different contexts and domains of life, according to the cultural values they felt as closer to them.

Focusing on personality results, traits were believed to determine different attitudes towards the L1 and the LX. However, no relationship emerged between L1 Dominance and personality factors. This finding could be explained by considering the fact that the L1, on average, maintained a strong presence in several spheres of private life, like relationships with children, psychotherapy or arithmetic calculation. The L1 presence seemed to go beyond personal attitudes. Indeed, in preceding research, the L1 often kept a strong emotional status (Pavlenko, 2006) even when the LX was the preferred language to express emotions and the language of daily interactions with people (Dewaele, 2006, 2007, 2011). The present study mainly relied on

data from late migrants, who spent most of their childhood in Italy. It was thus reasonable to expect that those private and cognitive domains of life, such as inner emotional thinking or affective conversations with children, would be undertaken in the L1, regardless of personality factors.

On the other hand, LX Dominance revealed results in line with previous research, showing that Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness were the traits linked to multilingualism and individuals' appreciation of their different languages and cultures (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Peltokorpi & Froese, 2011). Being sociable, attracted to culturally different beliefs and unprejudiced towards diversity were all factors that linked to migrants' interest towards embracing the new linguistic repertoire in several domains of their life (Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017). Considering each personality dimension separately, those informants who reported high scores on Cultural Empathy, and who resulted in being strongly attracted by norms that are part of different cultures, were probably keener on seeking contacts with LX speakers. This could have determined an increase in chances of using the LX in migrants' daily life for different purposes, ultimately explaining why they perceived the LX as more dominant. Cultural Empathy did not report correlations with L1 Dominance. It seems theoretically reasonable that people's appreciation for customs different from their heritage could relate to their investment in making the LX a more familiar tool of communication without necessarily disengaging them from the L1.

In terms of Social Initiative, it could be speculated that out-going and talkative participants could undoubtedly have more advanced levels of social contact with both LX and L1 speakers in general. Specifically, the craving for social interaction could have pushed migrants to expand the network of relationships with LX speakers, once again leading them to gain more chances of using the LX to engage in social interactions, such as to convey jokes, ultimately considering it as a dominant language in their friendly conversations.

Finally, the trait Openmindedness was the only one that proved to be a significant predictor of variance in migrants' self-reported LX Dominance. In support of that, many participants explained how their tolerance when making mistakes when practicing the language, their acceptance of the new mental structures the LX was offering them and their mind-set to openly approach the LX guided them to appreciate the new language and to establish a deeper and more intense connection with it. Previous results indicated similar personality characteristics as responsible for increasing the frequency of use of the local language where migrants were residing (Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012). Yet, language dominance seems to be mainly a question of participants' private perception of the language rather than general frequency of use of it for different purposes, such as socialising (Hammer, 2016). Undoubtedly, as mentioned above, frequent use of the language in several domains of life contributes to building people's language dominance; however, what probably constitutes the core of this concept is the cognitive embracement of the language. In this perspective, being open-minded seemed to make the difference above all other personality characteristics.

Considering regression results, the mixture of being open to accept the LX as a dominant language and the strong identification with LX practices were the two factors that significantly contributed to determining a small variance in migrants' self-reported LX dominance. Previous research showed that some aspects of personality had an effect on LX dominance. Specifically, in Ożańska-Ponikwia's (2012) study, L2 dominance was positively related to the Emotional Intelligence facet Adaptability. The author explained that flexibility in approaching life as well as feeling comfortable in new situations determined bilinguals' acceptance of L2 as a dominant language. One of the reasons why she failed in finding any correlation with specific personality traits in her investigation could be that Ożańska-Ponikwia was focusing on differences between people who experienced the immersion in the L2 culture from those who did not and this aspect could also be reflected in different results in terms of dominance in the L2. Conversely, other studies (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014) did find a correlation with the same trait but then directed the analysis towards a different perspective by considering the effect of language dominance on personality traits and not vice versa. These findings will be summarised later in the relevant hypothesis.

In summary, people's L1 and LX dominance in different domains of life seemed to correlate with their assimilation of values specific to the L1 or the LX culture, and their being unprejudiced towards diversity boosted their acceptance of the LX in their cognitive dimension.

V.3.1.3. Can personality profiles and cultural orientation explain migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX?

The last hypothesis centred on linguistic aspects speculated on the influence migrants' cultural orientation and personality aspects could have on their sense of feeling different when using the LX. Participants' self-perceptions when using the LX were expected to change according to their cultural orientation, without simultaneously linking to both participants' L1 and LX culture attachment. Specifically, it was speculated that migrants' appreciation for LX culture would have constrained their sense of feeling different when using the LX. Considering migrants' personality profiles, it was argued that migrants reporting lower scores on all personality traits but Emotional stability would more likely report feeling different when using the LX. The present thesis was distinguishing between migrants' sense of feeling different when using the LX with different interlocutors and when discussing different matters. This hypothesis was formulated on the basis of previous literature (Dewaele, 2016a; Hammer, 2016; Mijatović and Tytus, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a; Pavlenko, 2005; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004; Wilson, 2008) – listed in Chapter II (section II.7.2.) – and theoretical assumptions (Grosjean, 2002, 2015, 2010; Guiora, 1975; Hoffman, 1989; Matsumoto, 1994, 2006) – listed in Chapter I (section I.5.)

Results indicated that the majority of people tended to report feeling different when using the LX, confirming previous research on the topic (Dewaele & Nakano, 2012; Dewaele, 2016a; Koven, 1998, 2006; Hoffman, 1989; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Panayiotou 2004; Panicacci & Dewaele,

2017a, b; Pavlenko, 2006; Wilson, 2008, 2013). Furthermore, it seemed that their self-perceptions varied according to the types of interlocutors and the types of topics of their conversations (Mijatović & Tytus, 2016; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017b). In other words, participants reported feeling progressively less different when speaking with more familiar interlocutors. It must be noted, though, that there were a large number of participants who reported not having a partner or a family of their own. Hence, results for the sense of feeling different when using the LX with partners and family members were more skewed. Undoubtedly, the familiarity of the interlocutors restrained people's anxiety by allowing them to speak in a more colloquial and informal way. It also understandably reduced participants' fear of conveying a poor image of themselves to their audience – often mentioned in migrants' testimonies and previous research (Mijatović & Tytus, 2016) – in the sense that close friends and family members supposedly retained an authentic picture of their loved ones. Previous findings proved that more introverted people are those who tend to feel most different when using the LX (Wilson, 2008, 2013). Considering that shy individuals have more difficulties in managing social relationships with other people, this finding corroborates the idea that acquiring a certain degree of familiarity with interlocutors might reduce the sense of detachment coming from the use of an LX. Similarly, the analysis highlighted how informants tended to feel monotonically more different when using the LX to discuss topics that are closer to the heart (Mijatović & Tytus, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017b). Again, it could be speculated that when emotions and intimate feelings are involved, participants overall tended to engage more naturally with their L1, the language they felt closer to the heart (Dewaele, 2006, 2007,

2008, 2010a, 2011; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Indeed, most insights from the present research and previous studies showed that migrants' self-perceptions when using the LX seemed to imply a question of authenticity rather than proficiency (Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Dewaele, 2016a; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b; Hammer, 2016). This could explain why the sense of feeling different might occur especially when emotions are involved – i.e. when being genuine and spontaneous is of crucial importance.

Statistical findings also indicated that self-perceptions when using the LX to discuss different topics was related to a lower familiarity with the new culture. Indeed, informants who reported a poor sense of belonging to the LX culture also claimed to feel more different when using the LX to discuss different matters. A similar, but marginally significant correlation emerged in terms of migrants' self-perceptions when using the LX with different interlocutors. Maintaining a resilient relationship with the original roots could make migrants feel more estranged when coping with a new language, especially when having to convey emotional insights which is often the domain of the L1. Migrants' narratives stressed this aspect, indicating the L1 as objectively richer and poetically more evocative than the LX. Some participants, having a different approach, indicated their emotions as being a cultural construct of their heritage, and thus barely conveyable in a different language. Previous research showed results in line with this argument (Dewaele, 2016a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Panayiotou, 2004; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017b; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004; Wilson, 2008). Even though the analysis displayed only a marginally significant

correlation between participants' self-perceptions when using the LX to speak with different interlocutors and their appreciation for LX cultural practices, comments about cultural orientation in a more general perspective surfaced in qualitative analysis. Specifically, participants explained how the use of the LX was mainly restricted to work or practical issues, as their level of LX socialisation was poor or non-existent. The lack of social and affective engagement with LX speakers could indeed be interpreted as a poor level of integration in the new society and poor acculturation. Previous research in the field indicated results in line with this argument (Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Hammer, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b). When investigating bilinguals' feelings of difference in connection with their biculturalism, Mijatović & Tytus (2016) did not find any difference between monocultural and bicultural individuals (with or without exposure to the L2 culture) and their self-perceptions when using the L2. Notwithstanding the fact that the study only marginally focused on migrants, this finding did not deny the possibility that the strong appreciation for the L2 culture could reduce the sense of feeling different when using the L2. Indeed, the authors were mainly considering the exposure to the L2 culture and not participants' L2 acculturation level. As further evidence for this, a lot of qualitative reports in their study confirmed that the sense of feeling different when using the L2 was due to cultural aspects. Thus, it could be argued that, instead of the direct exposure to the LX culture, individuals' general appreciation and understanding of LX practices makes the difference. Crucial support for the present findings came from Hammer (2016), who showed that bilinguals that engaged with the host culture, seeking for

friendships with their L2-speaking peers, were more likely to feel they are themselves when speaking L2.

On the other hand, findings revealed no link with L1 culture attachment. Hence, migrants' desire for maintaining the traits and practices typical of their L1 had nothing to do with their perceptions when speaking the LX. Rather, their interest in the LX cultural scenario and in having LX friends contributed to constrain their sense of feeling different when using the LX, especially when discussing emotional matters. Some respondents interpreted their feelings of difference when speaking the LX as a lack of emotional engagement with the LX and the LX society. In other words, migrants implicitly revealed a connection between their self-perceptions and the degree of their LX affective socialisation and development of LX emotional and cultural scripts. This interpretation of findings follows the steps of previous studies which showed the progressive shift multilinguals observe when socialising in the LX and acculturating to the new cultural context, which eventually makes the LX evolve from an obscure idiom to a language of the heart (Dewaele, 2004c; Dewaele, 2015, Hammer, 2015, 2016; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017b).

Considering personality trait results, statistical analyses indicated the presence of a negative link with the trait Emotional Stability, contrary to initial expectations. Indeed, it was speculated that high scores on all personality traits would have an effect on people's sense of feeling different when using the LX. It is important to mention that previous research revealed links between migrants' self-perceptions when using the LX and only some personality traits In Ożańska-Ponikwia's study, socially and

emotionally skilled participants appeared to notice subtle changes in their personality and behaviour while using the L2 and she speculated that more extraverted people tended to actively participate in social interactions, gaining more opportunities to engage with the L2 community. Consequently, their sociolinguistic competence, self-confidence and social awareness increased and they became more able to perceive subtle personality changes. Yet, when discussing the connection with the expression of emotions in the L2, Ożańska-Ponikwia interpreted neurotic individuals' lack of response to stressful situations as a sign of emotional constraint. The present thesis could rely on her interpretation to discuss findings about migrants' self-perceptions. Indeed, the inability to verbalise emotions and the incapacity to express suffering or excitement in the LX could be interpreted as a form of low Emotional Stability. On the other hand, qualitative reports from some participants suggested they perceived a sort of linguistic detachment when using the LX, allowing them to feel more confident in their emotional response. The LX could indeed help in masking and hiding both painful memories and feelings. However, participants tended to mention this aspect mainly when referring to frustrating situations, memories, or emotional circumstances. Hence, having no information about participants' social skills, no direct connection with the trait Social Initiative could not be established like in Wilson's (2008). Rather, the crucial element was once again the emotional situation eliciting fear, disturbance or discomfort in general. Thus, Emotional Stability turned out to be the only personality factor able to predict variance in participants' self-perceptions when using the LX. These considerations may enlighten the frequent mentioning of emotions as the

most recurrent theme in people's discussion of their feelings of difference (tables 2, 3c).

In interviews migrants voiced their self-perceptions when using the LX through many different nuances and versions, discussing the attributes of having 'multilingual and multicultural identity'. Often, participants explained how feelings of difference emerged in one domain of life rather than in another, such as humour or emotional situations, or specific emotional script and speech acts, such as the use of the sentence 'I love you'. It was generally confirmed that this perception tended to refer more to a question of authenticity (Dewaele & Nakano, 2012), rather than a problem of proficiency (Dewaele, 2016a). People mainly expressed a sense of lack of genuineness or lamented a sort of emotional constraint when using the LX, confirming a link with the trait Emotional Stability. In their narratives, participants occasionally commented on their self-perceptions with different interlocutors, and mainly did it when discussing the idea of conveying a misleading image of themselves to other people, recalling once again previous studies (Mijatović & Tytus, 2016; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017b). However, they extensively mentioned topics or situations that elicited the sense of living in between different languages and cultures (Hoffman, 1989; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004). Thus, the idea of 'two sides of the same coin' was more popular than the concept of 'having two different personalities' (Pavlenko, 2006) in their different languages. Therefore, it could be argued that the sense of feeling different when switching languages proved to be an extremely complex matter to deal with and participants mostly struggled in isolating specific psychological elements or cultural factors determining their perceptions. On

the other hand, qualitative data offered a more realistic perspective of migrants' self-perceptions between languages and cultures, showing the intricacy and dynamic nature of this phenomenon.

Overall, the hypothesis (3) about migrants' feelings of difference has been confirmed. This discussion concludes the first section of hypotheses interpreting migrants' linguistic attitudes variation as accounted for by their cultural orientation and personality profiles.

V.3.2. Hypotheses on Cultural Aspects

The second group of hypotheses focused on migrants' acculturation. In particular, these hypotheses aimed at investigating to what extent migrants' orientation between L1 and LX culture changed alongside their language choice for emotion expression, language dominance and personality profiles. Each hypothesis will be discussed more closely in the following paragraphs.

V.3.2.1. Can migrants' L1 use for expressing emotions and L1 dominance explain their orientation towards L1 culture?

The first hypothesis (4) of the present analytical thread concerned the influence that migrants' language choice for emotion expression and self-perceived language dominance might have on their cultural orientation. This hypothesis was formulated on the basis of previous literature (Dewaele, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2015; Pavlenko, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013) – listed in Chapter II (section II.7.2.) – and theoretical assumptions (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2012; De Leersnyder, 2014; Grosjean, 2010, 2015; Guiora, 1975; Hammer, 2016; Mesquita, 2003;

Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al., 2010) – listed in Chapter I (section I.5.).

Considering L1 culture first, it was hypothesised that migrants who extensively used the L1 for expressing emotions and perceive it as a dominant language would more likely feel a stronger sense of belonging to the L1 culture. As mentioned above when discussing the hypotheses 1 and 2 (sections: V.3.1.1. and V.3.1.2.), both L1 Emotion Expression and L1 Dominance showed a positive link with L1 Acculturation. In this instance, migrants' L1 culture attachment was considered as the dependent variable and the purpose was to verify how much of its variance could be explained by migrants' linguistic attitudes. Regression analysis indicated that both migrants' L1 use for expressing emotions and their perceiving it as their dominant language contributed to boost their sense of belonging to the L1 culture. Moreover, participants' tendency to stick to the L1 for expressing intimate feelings was the best predictor of their attachment to L1 culture practices and traditions. Results proved that migrants' language choices could reveal a lot in terms of their linguistic socialisation. Besides being a sign of affective attachment to the L1, the fact that participants preferred to stick to the L1 for expressing their emotions with different interlocutors could be seen also as an indication of the degree of social contact they decided to maintain with people from the same heritage. De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim (2011) stated that emotional patterns express and reinforce the prevalent meanings and practices in their cultural context and, therefore, implicitly signal migrants' socio-cultural affiliations (p. 452). Hence, it is likely that maintaining affectionate relationships with people from the same heritage

could determine the maintenance of L1 emotional scripts, as well as a stronger attachment to L1 values and emotional practices. A lot of migrants' testimonies explained that expressing emotions in the L1 was a deliberate choice, as it seemed the only natural way of genuinely expressing their feelings and, when using the L1 was not possible, frustration often surfaced. Furthermore, most of the participants also admitted that their most intimate relationships happened to be with people from the same heritage. Interview insights in particular indicated that emotions were important clues in understanding cultural patterns. Indeed, some participants explained how their desperate need to convey emotions in a sincere way brought them back to their home country, or to the music of their origin, or even led them to start a relationship with someone from the same home town.

In terms of language dominance, it could be speculated that respondents' strong attachment to their L1 contributed to determine their sense of belonging to the L1 culture. Several qualitative reports showed how sometimes migrants deliberately sought for a strong connection with the language in order to maintain a connection with their home country and perpetrate L1 traditions. Indeed, speaking the language and embedding it in specific domains of daily life created a strong foundation to maintain a direct contact with L1 values. Often, migrants mentioned their emotional sphere as the one where the L1 was indisputably dominant – recalling literature (Dewaele, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010a, 2011, 2015; Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia's, 2013, 2017) - and this could also explain why that L1 use for expressing emotions was overall the best predictor of their attachment to the L1 culture.

Some studies have looked at the role of language in the construction of multi-cultural identities (Ben Rafael, Olshtain, & Geijst, 1997; Cooper & Fishman, 1977; Olshtain & Kotik, 2000; Olshtain, Stavans, & Kotik, 2003; Berry, 2003; Stavans, Olshtain, & Goldzweig, 2009). Indeed, one of the most common domains believed to define acculturation is language use (Kang, 2006; Schwartz, 2010). In order to clarify the conceptual distinction between acculturation and language dominance, it is important to mention that the present research interpreted language dominance as the degree of accessibility of a language in daily life and its level of activation for different purposes (Harris & al, 2006; Hammer, 2016). Hence, it can be interpreted as a sort linguistic indication of the general connotation of acculturation. Yet, as a concept, it is quite distinct from the idea of cultural orientation. Several studies investigated language dominance influence on personality, behaviour, cognitive operations, emotions, cross-linguistic transfer, code-switching, language choice for inner speech and also multilinguals' self-perceptions of their different languages (Altarriba, 2007; Dewaele, 2004c, 2007, 2010a; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Hammer, 2015). Of great interest for the discussion of this hypothesis are Dewaele's (2004c) findings indicating that language dominance had a significant effect on frequency of use of the L1 for expression of feelings, anger and swearing to different interlocutors and also on L1 use for inner speech. Indeed, this could explain why migrants' frequently mixed the two concepts together (L1 use for expressing emotions and L1 Dominance) when describing their attachment to the L1 culture. Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) analysed migrants' language dominance, considering their answers to a group of questions investigating language use for some cognitive operations, such as dreaming, counting and inner speech.

Findings indicated that participants' length of stay in the L2 country correlated negatively with L1 dominance dimension and positively with L2 dominance dimension. She concluded that the immersion in the L2 country affected migrants' linguistic attitudes, orienting them towards a higher L2 dominance. However, this research did not directly consider migrants' length of stay in the country, but rather the degree of contact with the L1 and LX society. Qualitative insights indicated that the preference for the L1 to perform some cognitive operations or to use it in specific domains of life was more typically linked to the appreciation of the values embedded in it, rather than the time they spent in the LX culture. Once again, this conclusion corroborates the idea of migrants' cultural and linguistic hybridity (Dewaele, 2016a; Grosjean; 2002, 2015), showing that heritage culture and language can maintain a strong presence in one's life and have a crucial role in identification practices, regardless of the appreciation for the new cultural scenario (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 2000).

V.3.2.2. Can migrants' LX use for expressing emotions and LX dominance explain their orientation towards LX culture?

This paragraph focuses on host culture acculturation. It was theorised that migrants reporting using the LX frequently to express emotions, perceiving it as a dominant language, would more likely feel a greater sense of belonging to the LX culture. As mentioned when discussing hypotheses 1 and 2 (sections: V.3.1.1. and V.3.1.2.), a positive relationship emerged between both LX Emotion Expression and LX Dominance and LX Acculturation. In this instance, regression analysis indicated both LX Emotion Expression and LX Dominance as significant predictors of migrants'

LX culture attachment. In other words, a frequent use of the LX for expressing emotions, for cognitive operations and in private domains of life contributed to instill in migrants a higher understanding and appreciation of LX culture practices. Similarly to the results regarding L1 Acculturation, migrants' LX use for expressing emotions was by far the best predictor of variance in LX Acculturation. Therefore, results showed that developing affectionate relationships with a wider network of LX speakers guided migrants towards a greater interest, attention and understanding of LX cultural practices. In other words, LX Emotion Expression was intended not simply as an indicator of migrants' emotional perceptions towards a language, but also a sign of their degree of affective socialisation into the LX society and presumably also their level of understanding of LX emotion scripts. Ożańska-Ponikwia speculated that the perception of L1 emotions would take place only through L2 cultural and emotional scripts in those participants who are undergoing an affective socialisation process in the L2 (Pavlenko, 2006) and who perceive the L2 as more dominant. Indeed, it cannot be denied that in order to relate to LX speakers effectively, migrants would have to voice their own feelings appropriately to eventually make themselves understood. Learning to express emotions and to swear in a new language (Dewaele, 2011) undoubtedly represents a crucial achievement in being able to interact with other people, make friends, reproach children, express discomfort or simply verbalise personal opinions. These considerations follow the steps of Bruner's (1996) assumption that people embody ideas in forms of emotions (Mesquita, 2010; De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011: 451) and the assumption that migrants' emotions approximate LX culture patterns of emotional experience according to their level of social contact with the

cultural context (Mesquita, 2010; De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011). Indeed, De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim speculated that emotional fit might greatly help communication, engagement and participation in the host culture practices, also determining a general positive evaluation of the whole experience by migrants. The authors argued that emotions imply sociocultural affiliation. Hence, in this perspective, the concordance between migrants' emotional patterns and those typical of the LX culture reflects their level of internalisation of the LX culture. According to this theoretical framework, people's emotional patterns change in response to their engagement with a new cultural context, so that emotions can be considered a function of acculturation (p. 452). What De Leersnyder, Mesquita and Kim did was thus to measure acculturation in terms of emotional pattern concordance. Their findings indicated migrants' exposure to the LX culture was a predictor of their emotional acculturation. More precisely, participants who had spent a larger proportion of life in the host country and - most importantly to the present discussion – those who engaged in social contact with locals were more likely to be emotionally acculturated as a result of their social interactions. The researchers concluded that interpersonal relationships are of vital importance in acculturation processes and that migrants' emotion repertoire seems thus to be shaped and enriched as a consequence of their interactions within different cultural contexts (Dewaele, 2008, 2010a; Mesquita, 2010; Pavlenko, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017). This conclusion shed more light on the present findings, explaining why a higher use of the LX for expressing emotions could determine migrants' higher predisposition towards the culture that generated that language in the first place. This research did not directly assess participants'

emotional concordance with the LX culture; however, it could be speculated that a higher use of the LX for expressing emotions is a sign of a higher level of social contact with the local community, something that De Leersnyder, Mesquita and Kim (2011) proved to be extremely relevant in emotion acculturation processes. Some qualitative insights explicitly mentioned that the type of audience they interacted with affected their perception and use of the LX. Indeed, many participants explained that they migrated mainly for work reasons and some of them claimed their most intimate contacts were in their home country. They made it clear that by interacting mainly with work colleagues, the chances to develop a more accurate emotional attitude and vocabulary in the LX were lower. Conversely, those migrants who reported a family in the host country or an LX partner also expressed a strong sense of emotional liberation following their migration, directly linked to having found good friends, a welcoming local community or the love of their life.

Another important aspect to consider, unrelated to migrants' affective socialisation, is their emotional predisposition towards the LX. In other words, choosing a specific language to voice personal feelings, immediate pain or inner emotions could be an indication of a stronger emotional attachment to that language, in the sense that the specific language could be perceived as more evocative, meaningful as well as less emotionally charged and thus allow a more confident and less troubled manifestation of feelings. Dewaele (2015) discovered that multilinguals' preferences for inner speech and for emotional inner speech are strongly oriented towards their L1. However, for those who had acculturated into the LX culture, the new language had progressively acquired meaning and emotional strength. It

could be speculated that both processes can be simultaneously triggered in migrants' minds, where their frequent use of the LX to express emotions may lead them closer to LX values and the appreciation of LX culture may determine a higher degree of affective socialisation within the local community. Furthermore, it could be argued that migrants' emotion expression in the form of inner speech can reflect language dominance. Indeed, the present study intended language dominance to be defined as assessing the accessibility of a language in daily life and its activation for inner speech, thinking and cognitive operations (Harris & al., 2006: 264). As mentioned above, Dewaele (2004c) proved that even when the LX was dominant, the L1 was usually depicted as a powerful language, able to maintain an intact emotional supremacy (Dewaele, 2010). However, in his study examining multilinguals' perception of the emotional weight of the phrase 'I love you' in their different languages, Dewaele (2008) found that, even if almost half of participants reported feeling that the sentence had the greatest emotional weight in their L1, among all factors investigated, the emotional weight of the phrase was often linked to self-reported language dominance, degree of LX socialisation, and categories of interlocutors in the LX. Thus, language dominance turned out to have a strong effect on participants' perceptions of the emotional scripts and speech acts. In other words, their emotional reactions to the sentence 'I love you' were amplified if the language used was their dominant one. The author interpreted high levels of self-perceived LX dominance as strong socialisation in the LX, explaining that socialisation implies a frequent use of the LX over a prolonged period with various interlocutors in diverse settings, including those contexts that could most likely enhance individuals' familiarity with emotion scripts in the

LX (Dewaele, 2008). Dewaele's conclusion connected the concept of language dominance to affective socialisation in the same way the discussion of the present hypothesis did when interpreting the variable measuring emotion expression in the LX, also referencing other studies previously mentioned (Hammer, 2016). Hence, it could be argued that language dominance and language use for expressing emotions are both conceptually connected to the idea of affective socialisation as they both imply a frequent use of the language in interacting with various interlocutors, including in those contexts that promote emotional engagement. Hammer (2015) argued that embracing an LX and implanting it in daily life is a sign of a deep understanding of the culture that produces it. However, qualitative insights often showed that emotions and the LX intrusion in participants' inner thinking and daily activities could somehow elicit their understanding of the new world they live in. Hence, it could be speculated that the other way round is also possible: i.e. that both LX dominance and LX use for expressing emotions contribute to migrants' ultimate acquisition of practices and values typical of the background culture they socialise in.

V.3.2.3. Can personality explain migrants' cultural orientation?

The last hypothesis of this group concerned migrants' personality profiles and the influence they might have on their orientation towards L1 and LX culture. It was conjectured that some personality dimensions would determine participants' higher appreciation of L1 culture. In contrast, other personality dimensions would more likely determine a higher attraction for L1 culture in migrants. However, the most important consideration was that no personality trait was expected to inversely (positively and negatively)

connect to both L1 and LX cultural dimensions. This hypothesis was formulated on the basis of previous literature (Kim, 2001; Leong, 2007; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a; Peltokorpi & Froese, 2011) – listed in Chapter II (section II.7.2.) – and theoretical assumptions (Grosjean, 2002, 2015; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al., 2010) – listed in Chapter I (section I.5.).

Findings proved to be coherent with those previously discussed when analysing the hypotheses concerning migrants' emotion expression and self-reported dominance. Correlation analyses revealed that those personality features (Flexibility and Emotional Stability) that were negatively linked to migrants' L1 Emotion Expression were also negatively linked to their sense of belonging to the L1 culture. Likewise, the traits Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Emotional Stability, previously found to be positively related to migrants' LX use for emotion expression and LX dominance, were also positively linked to their attachment to the LX culture. Statistical analyses seemed thus to confirm the pattern that saw migrants' lack of flexibility and emotional control as crucial aspects related to their strong tie with their own heritage, whereas migrants' cultural skills, sociability and unprejudiced attitude were linked to their attraction for new cultural horizons. Therefore, findings seemed to lay the foundation for a theoretically consistent idea of linguistic and cultural hybridity (Dewaele, 2016a; Grosjean, 2010, 2015). These results showed that uni-dimensional approaches to acculturation generally provide an incomplete or deceptive picture of what really happens to migrants, and – most importantly – promoted the idea that people could have multiple cultural identities and identify with L1 and LX dimensions or

simply not identify with any of them (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). Indeed, in support of their argument, proclaiming a higher reliability of bi-dimensional models of acculturation, Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000) thought that examining personality correlates could provide an important context in which to compare the two models. More precisely, the uni-dimensional model would be favoured if the heritage and mainstream subscales showed an inverse pattern of correlates with personality, whereas a coherent, independent set of correlates for each subscale would support the bi-dimensional model. The present research achieved what Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (1999, 2000) were trying to prove by showing that different traits of individuals' personality correlate with different acculturation attitudes.

Participants' testimonies confirmed statistical trends by picturing different approaches and behaviours towards values and practices and never considering one culture as a substitute of the other. Furthermore, in interviews migrants often depicted their existence as 'in between' and 'beyond' the two cultural scenarios, in the sense that they felt outsiders and insiders of both the L1 and LX community, simultaneously identifying themselves with values and traditions and at the same time looking at those same values and traditions with a critical eye.

Considering L1 culture results in detail, regression analysis indicated that both Flexibility and Emotional Stability explained a small part of variance in migrants' attachment to the L1 culture. In particular, migrants' lack of flexibility was the main aspect of their personality that kept them attached to their original culture practices, as it accounted for a larger amount of variance. Qualitative findings provided a clearer picture of how

individuals' inability to adapt to unfamiliar situations could result in a longing for L1 customs and traditions. Furthermore, many testimonies confirmed that the lack of flexibility applied mainly to emotional attitudes and inner feelings. In other words, a lot of migrants commented on their frustration caused by their inability to adapt their emotional reactions to the new emotional patterns. Some participants openly admitted being aware of the fact that their emotions have been shaped by their L1 culture and could not be genuinely expressed via other means, nor adapted to LX scripts without morphing them. All these insights corroborated the idea that the inability to adapt to new emotional patterns could be considered as a form of lack of flexibility. Surely, being anxious and having the tendency to neurotically react to stressful situations could be seen as an aggravating factor when re-settling in a new country. Indeed, the impact of the new culture could represent a potential source of stress and informants shared their own struggles and solutions when discussing the topic, such as the deliberate act of recreating a strong contact with the L1 and L1 culture or the trait of maintaining a strong Italian accent when speaking the LX. There is a large body of research focused on individuals' experience of acculturation that addressed psychological problems which arise when people encounter a culturally different environment. Often the variables analysed in these studies were related to the perception of the host society and general intercultural competence (Church 1982; Furnham & Bochner 1986; Furnham 1988), rather than to the actual attachment to heritage culture. Also, all these studies emphasised the idea of 'acculturative stress' (Anderson 1994, Oberg 1960, Berry 1970, 1990, Bennett 1977, Taft 1977). This dissertation partly proved that personality characteristics do not necessarily prevent people

from engaging with a new cultural scenario but could simply increase the attraction to what feels familiar and well-known. Indeed, some participants specifically claimed they have learnt to appreciate some aspects of their L1 culture by facing a new cultural context. This research interpreted acculturation as a process of enrichment and self-awareness and the focus was on the way people actively dealt with change (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2008).

Likewise, some researchers have focused on personality variables associated with successful cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 2001) without necessarily considering what aspects of this process induced individuals to maintain a strong tie with their origins. Chen & colleagues (1998) provided evidence that high Neuroticism was the strongest predictor of lack of psychological adjustment in their experiment. Surely, lack of flexibility and emotional regulation have been shown to create the potential for the well-known 'acculturative stress' (p. 831); however, statistical analysis in the present research did not display any significant link between those personality features and a prominent lack of identification with LX culture practices. Findings merely showed that being less emotionally stable kept participants more attached to the culture they came from. In other words, high flexibility levels and the ability to control emotional reactions only helped migrants disengaging from their L1 models, guiding them towards the acknowledgement of the diversity of values and customs in the different cultures, without necessarily meaning they would find those new values and customs appealing. These results could open up a new interesting viewpoint on acculturative processes leading towards the idea of cultural hybridity.

Focusing on LX culture results, regression analysis only revealed Cultural Empathy and Openmindedness as significant predictors of their sense of belonging to the LX culture. Social Initiative failed to reach the level of significance. Unsurprisingly, Cultural Empathy was the best predictor of migrants' LX culture appreciation. Indeed, a lot of previous research showed that individuals' strong appetite for cultural exchange and their ability to empathise with diverse ideologies and beliefs seemed to boost their understanding of LX culture practices (Kim, 2001, 2008). Openmindedness also seemed to contribute to participants' identification with LX culture. Kim (2008) argued that highly open-minded people, being less prejudiced and biased when interpreting events and situations, tend to minimise their resistance to the new environment. It thus seems reasonable that these specific traits contributed to migrants' appreciation of the LX culture. Other relevant studies, Leong (2007) found that undergraduate students returning from an international exchange program reported significantly higher levels of competences in four of the five Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ) (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2002) dimensions, namely Openmindedness, Social Initiative, Flexibility and Emotional Stability, in comparison to the control group of domestic students. It must be said that the sample used for that study was quite particular, as it consisted of young adults that willingly opted to study abroad. This could explain why the authors also found connections with other traits. Peltokorpi and Froese (2011), in their research investigating the link between personality traits of American and European expatriates and their adjustment in Japan, found positive correlations between Openmindedness and interaction adjustment, Social Initiative and work adjustment and Emotional Stability, Cultural

Empathy and general adjustment. This study relied on a quite specific sample, but still showed similar connections with some personality traits. Hence, research on personality dimensions as predictor variables of successful cross-cultural adaptation proved that being able to understand different cultural specifics and having an unprejudiced attitude towards them could guide migrants towards a stronger sense of belonging to the new cultural scenario.

On the other hand, qualitative insights did not specifically focus on single personality characteristics but generally discussed how some natural tendencies and approaches helped participants to feel more in tune with the new surroundings. However, it must be acknowledged that individuals are not a group of separate specific qualities, but rather a mixture of instincts, tendencies and beliefs. This is why it was probably hard for respondents to identify what subtle aspects of their character help them to better understand cultural elements of LX society.

In conclusion, hypothesis 5 has been verified. The discussion highlighted how, for migrants, there was no binary choice between two cultural worlds and how the space between the two could be very hard to identify. This is probably one of the most meaningful findings of the present research. Participants considered both the rewards and the difficulties of living in between two languages and cultures, discussing the possibility of experiencing a blend of emotions, values and traits. These testimonies added a human dimension to the statistical findings, illustrating how different aspects of individuals' character could direct them towards different identification processes which could be the maintenance of familiar

traditions as well as the assimilation of new practices. This also explain why migrants generally strived to isolate single cultural factors or personality aspects and in their conversations picturing their 'double life'.

V.3.3. Hypothesis on Personality Aspects

The last hypothesis to be discussed focused on migrants' personality changes. Specifically, this section will consider whether migrants' language choice for emotion expression, self-perceived language dominance and cultural orientation could contribute to determine their personality characteristics. More precisely, L1 and LX variables were expected to determine coherent variance in the same personality traits. This hypothesis was formulated on the basis of previous literature (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Korzilius, van Hooft, Planken, and Hendrix, 2011; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al. 2010; Ventura, Dewaele, Koylu & McManus, 2016) – listed in Chapter II (section II.7.2.) – and theoretical assumptions (Grosjean, 2010, 2015; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al., 2010) – listed in Chapter I (section I.5.). Findings will be discussed in two separate sections (V.3.3.1. and V.3.3.2.), focusing on heritage and host culture acculturation respectively.

V.3.3.1. Can migrants' attachment to L1 culture and language explain their personal characteristics?

The variables involved in the present discussions are: migrants' attachment to the L1 culture and their attachment to the L1, interpreted as their self-reported L1 dominance, and L1 use for expressing emotions. This

hypothesis argued that migrants' linguistic and cultural preferences could somehow be reflected in their personality traits. As illustrated throughout this chapter, statistical results only indicated two traits as significantly linked to migrants' attachment to heritage culture and L1 use for expressing emotions: Flexibility and Emotional Stability. Conversely, L1 Dominance did not show any significant correlation with any personality trait. Occasionally, in some qualitative insights a connection between L1 Dominance and emotion management surfaced; however, migrants tended to comment mainly on the use of the language for expressing emotions and on its high emotionality, implying their consideration of the L1 as a dominant language at least of all matters that were close to the heart. It could be speculated that the fact the sample was mainly composed of late migrants might have skewed L1 Dominance scores. However, throughout the whole analysis, the traits Flexibility and Emotional Stability were uniquely linked to migrants' attitudes towards their L1 language and culture and never showed any connection with individuals' attitudes towards LX and LX culture, corroborating the idea that different cultures and languages can blend in migrants' minds (Grosjean, 2010, 2015).

Regression analyses revealed that L1 Acculturation was the only predictor of migrants' Flexibility scores, whereas L1 use for Emotion Expression and L1 Acculturation were both significant predictors of Emotional Stability. In both tests, the effect size was small. However, it supported the idea that personality cannot be separated from linguistic aspects when dealing with migrants' experiences and that the relationship between these two factors could be considered as mutual. Indeed, research

on personality traits showed that both the knowledge of other languages and their use in affective socialisation processes might influence individuals' personality characteristics (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013, 2017). Most multilinguals consider their socialisation in the LX as an intense process of personal transformation (Wierzbicka, 1985, 2004; Hoffman, 1989; Pavlenko, 1998, 2005). Yet, all possible changes can take place only when individuals are exposed to different languages and cultures simultaneously (Wierzbicka, 2004; Pavlenko, 2005). It seems, therefore, that the use of a language – especially in affective socialisation contexts – and contact and exposure to a culture could affect personality aspects. This thesis strongly corroborates the idea that these changes are not necessarily due to the use of a new language or to the exposure to a new cultural scenario, but that they can also take place as a consequence of L1 language and culture presence in a migrants' life. Indeed, the attachment to the L1 in order to express intimate feelings might increase people's sense of emotional insecurity considering that they are still immersed in an LX environment. Likewise, the maintenance of a strong connection with L1 traditions, practices and, above all, emotional scripts might contribute in making migrants less capable to take over emotional traits from the LX society and thus end up with a sense of emotional detachment from the external reality. A lot of participants voiced a sense of emotional constraint and they often depicted the L1 as the only language allowing an authentic and natural flowing on inner emotions (Dewaele, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010a, 2011, 2015; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006). It could be conjectured that if participants tended to stick to the use of the L1 to express their emotions, as the true language of their heart, they might certainly encounter more difficulties in socialising in the LX, ultimately ending up with

a sense of emotional limitation when having to adapt their feelings to the LX patterns of emotion expression. Furthermore, the attachment to L1 culture could be hidden beyond these linguistic attitudes. Specifically, the preference for the L1 for expressing true feelings appeared as strongly linked to the attachment to L1 culture aspects in several testimonies and statistical analyses. Connecting the concept emotion expression and language dominance, Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013, 2017), when analysing migrants' feedback in terms of emotion expression and perception in the L1 and the L2, speculated that in those participants undergoing an affective socialisation process in the L2, the perception of L1 emotions would take place through L2 cultural and emotional scripts. Hence, they will perceive the L2 as more dominant, explaining why L2 culture and language could have an impact on perception of L1 emotions. Her consideration is meaningful; however, the present research wants specifically to focus on the effective appreciation of the LX society and language. The immersion in a new cultural framework definitely has an impact on migrants' personality and emotional behaviour (Wierzbicka, 1985, 1999, 2004; Hoffman, 1989; Pavlenko, 1998, 2005). Yet, their attitudes in terms of linguistic choices, socialisation preferences and cultural attachment might skew the outcomes (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011). In this context, participants' sticking to the L1 for expressing their own feelings, their bonding more with people of the same heritage and their liking for the L1 traditions – also in terms of emotional scripts – changed migrants' personality in a different way compared to those participants that opened to the LX practices, language and society.

Looking at statistical analyses, tests also revealed L1 Acculturation as the main predictor of variance in migrants' Flexibility scores. Only a few qualitative insights contributed to provide a clearer interpretation of this aspect. In a way, it seemed reasonable that if participants stuck to their L1 customs, especially considering that they probably had to work twice as hard to maintain contacts with practices that were not mainstream and that could generally remain misunderstood in a different society, they ended up with a higher sense of insecurity versus everything that looked unfamiliar. Indeed, people that invested energy in re-constructing a familiar environment around them, sticking to trusted behavioural patterns, might eventually end up with less resources to adjust to unexpected and unknown circumstances (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2000).

V.3.3.2. Can migrants' attachment to LX culture and language explain their personal characteristics?

This last section centres on host culture and language. Specifically, the variables involved were migrants' LX use for expressing emotions, LX Dominance and their LX Acculturation. Statistical analysis revealed a recurring series of positive correlations between LX aspects and the traits Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness. Moreover, regression analyses revealed that LX Acculturation and LX Dominance were good predictors of all the three traits, whereas LX Emotion Expression was a good predictor only of migrants' Social Initiative. It is without surprise that the sense of belonging to the LX contributed to explaining variance in all these personality aspects. Indeed, migrants' desire to fit in the new cultural world and their embedding the LX in their daily life could be considered as

good stimuli for the development of socio-cultural skills and as a sense of openness to different horizons. Undoubtedly, LX Acculturation and LX Dominance are two closely related concepts (Hammer, 2015). Hence, it is not surprising that LX Dominance often interacted and conceptually overlapped with LX Acculturation, determining variances on the same personality traits. Yet, what is more striking is the fact the LX Emotion Expression emerged as the best predictor of migrants' social skills. As often stated, this variable offered an indication of participants' level of affective socialisation. Thus, having more chances to use the LX to express emotions also meant having more affective interactions with LX speakers and it is likely that migrants' social skills might end up being largely improved by their socialising with a larger variety of people.

Analogous studies looking at the effect of multilingualism and multiculturalism on personality traits highlighted the possibility of personality change due to the processes of adaptation to new cultural settings (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a). Dewaele and van Oudenhoven (2009) showed that being born abroad and having settled in a different country during childhood, as well as being dominant in more than one language and being able to speak more languages, had a small effect on the dimension of Openmindedness, a marginally significant small effect on Cultural Empathy and significantly lower effect on Emotional Stability compared to locally born informants and participants dominant in one language only with a limited level of multilingualism (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009). The authors argued that personality could be shaped by social and biographical factors and that

acculturation processes could be stressful, but the experience of having to fit in and being in contact with different languages and cultures could strengthen Cultural Empathy and Openmindedness (p.12). The finding that migration history as well as language knowledge and dominance had an effect on Emotional Stability was not confirmed in the present study. This could be explained by considering that Dewaele & van Oudenhoven's (2009) sample was composed of young teenagers only. It could be argued that, at young ages, the 'trauma of migration' or the process of linguistic and cultural acculturation to the new scenario could significantly affect the level of Emotional Stability as teenagers' traits might not yet be fully shaped (p.15). It is possible that, in late migrants who willingly embarked on the new experience in a new culture for specific reasons, the effects on their Emotional Stability remain inconsistent. This is why no specific effects emerged in the present analysis. However, what is important to highlight is that experiencing multilingualism and multiculturalism could have obvious benefits: Openmindedness and Cultural Empathy are reinforced by the experience in the LX culture (p.15). This study echoed the findings by Chen et al. (2008) on the psychological benefits of bilingualism, demonstrating that, over the course of time and through generations, personality profiles of migrants increasingly resembled those of the mainstream culture (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011). On the other hand, Ventura, Dewaele, Koylu & McManus (2016) found a link to a significant increase in Emotional Stability in British students after spending a year abroad. Reflective interviews also highlighted a positive change in terms of Openmindedness and Cultural Empathy dimensions. The discrepancy between these results and Dewaele & van Oudenhoven's (2009) results could be explained by

considering that the Ventura et al (2016) study was conducted on students that willingly decided to study abroad; hence, who were already attracted by the idea of exploring life in different culture. Hence, the decision to migrate could be extremely meaningful in terms of affecting individuals' emotional skills. Korzilius, van Hooft, Planken, and Hendrix (2011) found that the number of LXs known by international employees of a multinational company significantly correlated with Openmindedness and Emotional Stability. However, this research did not consider the use of LXs for different purposes. More relevant to the discussion of the present hypothesis are Dewaele and Stavans' findings (2014). The researchers confirmed that a variety of social, linguistic and biographical factors were linked to some personality dimensions. Foreign-born participants tended to score lower on Emotional Stability compared to those with locally born parents. Similarly, acculturation and the shift from dominance in the L1 to dominance in an LX resulted in lower levels of Emotional Stability. However, some of the most salient patterns emerging from this study were the fact that participants with high frequency of use of all their LXs and participants with one immigrant parent (but not two) reported higher levels of Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative and Openmindedness. These findings suggested that greater intercultural communicative activity and socialisation as well as growing up in a family with mixed linguistic and cultural background seem to enhance individuals' socio-cultural skills and awareness of differences (p. 14). The authors concluded that there are obvious psychological benefits to growing up in a multilingual and multicultural environment. The fact that the present study did not reveal any connection between the trait Emotional Stability and LX language dominance and that, on the other hand, a negative link emerged

between lower scores on this trait and L1 Dominance could be again explained by the fact that the sample was constituted of first generation migrants only, who mainly migrated after school age. Hence, participants' cognitive and emotional attachment to their L1 was still quite high and this might have produced different results compared to studies that also included second and third generation migrants. On the contrary, the variable measuring informants' L1 use for emotion expression was more balanced as it offered an indication of participants' level of contact with the L1 society, providing less biased and blunt feedback from migrants. What all these studies confirmed was that the experience of having lived abroad had an impact on individuals' personalities. People's socio-linguistic and cultural environment and their conscious effort to use a new language and learn new cultural practices to better fit into and operate within the new culture might explain why some migrants reported changes to some specific traits and some other did not. Notwithstanding that migration experiences affect not just an individual's cognition but also an individual's personality (Dewaele & Wei, 2013: 238), a few considerations could also help to explain why results did not directly involve all aspects of personality. Indeed, Dewaele and Wei (2013), while highlighting how multilinguals reported higher Tolerance of Ambiguity (TA), perceiving novelty and stimuli as desirable, challenging and interesting compared to bi- and monolinguals, also showed that short-term experiences abroad improved this personality feature, while growing up in a multilingual family did not. These findings showed that the knowledge of multiple languages and – most importantly – the experience of having survived in a foreign language and culture could lead individuals to become more tolerant of uncertainty. Despite the fact that the present research did

not directly enquire about the trait TA, Dewaele and Wei's (2013: 238) conclusion that surviving a first impact with a new cultural environment might be the crucial element that changes migrants' personality profiles and corroborates the idea that migrants' length of stay in the LX culture could not necessarily determine further personality changes. Indeed, what could make the difference – at least at a psychological level – is the initial collision with the new cultural world (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014) and the way people respond to it. If personality is believed to be determined by a constant interaction between internal psychological elements and external social elements is it reasonable to expect that a change in the environment, such as the impact with a new cultural scenario, as well as a change in the internal predispositions, such as the shift to an LX for different purposes, could affect its characteristics (Furnham & Heaven, 1999; McCrae & al., 2000; Kim, 2008). To conclude, it seemed that considering personality traits as affected by language preferences for emotion expression or changes in linguistic behaviour certainly provided a more realistic picture of the complexity of migrants' life, in compliance with several narratives documenting life between cultures and languages (Besemeres, 2004; Hoffman, 1989; Parks, 1996; Pavlenko, 2001; Ye, 2003; Wierzbicka, 1985, 1997, 1999, 2004).

The following section will summarise and link all findings together, trying to provide a cohesive picture of migrants' linguistic, psychological and cultural experience.

V.4. Summarising findings

V.4.1. Linguistic and Cultural Aspects

Participants' orientation towards the L1 and the LX culture shifted according to their linguistic attitudes and their personality features (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al. 2010, 2014). Throughout the analysis, migrants' attachment to their L1 culture was connected to the L1 use for expressing emotions, their perceiving it as a dominant language and also to their Emotional Stability and Flexibility. Conversely, LX Acculturation perfectly mirrored L1 Acculturation patterns of correlations and positively related to LX linguistic variables and the remaining personality traits. Clearly, the attachment to a specific culture and language, intended both as an emotional attachment and a cognitive one, went hand in hand as they mutually triggered each other. The fact that they also related to different personality traits corroborated the idea that languages can cognitively and emotionally overlap in migrants' experience (Dewaele, 2016a; Guiora, 1975; Grosjean, 2015; Pavlenko, 2006; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a) as well as cultures (Chen, Benet-Martínez & Bond, 2008; Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 2000; Schwartz & al. 2010). Qualitative reports from migrants often confirmed how the connection between L1 and L1 culture was strongly established. Indeed, the appreciation of L1 values, the longing for specific traditions, customs or typical emotional scripts often connected with the attachment to specific emotional vocabulary, the perceived emotional weight and genuineness of L1 expressions, the feeling that the L1 spontaneously pervaded their stream of consciousness or simply the acknowledgement of maintaining true intimate contacts only with L1 speakers.

Likewise, LX and LX culture were connected. A few participants explained their progressive shift to the LX as a conscious acceptance and appreciation for the cultural values hidden beyond the language. In other circumstances, informants clearly voiced the sense of having reached a wider understanding of the culture they live in by means of the language. As often mentioned before, the use of LX for expressing emotion was a good indicator of advanced levels of LX affective socialisation. Having a greater contact with the LX society undoubtedly boosted participants' understanding of LX culture practices. With particular reference to the expression of emotions, having to cope with LX speakers determined a wider assimilation of LX cultural constructs also in the form of emotional scripts. Hence, it seems also likely that those migrants who exposed themselves to the LX for expressing emotions ended up taking over new emotional traits (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013) and eventually welcoming the LX as the language that more naturally conforms to the newly assimilated emotional pattern (Dewaele, 2008, 2010a, 2011, 2015; Hammer, 2011, 2015, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017). The same argumentation could be used to discuss language dominance. Indeed, several migrants confirmed that the progressive instillation of the LX in their private life contributed to them appreciating at least some particular aspects of the LX culture in a way that led them to conform their behavioural and cognitive patterns to it. Hence, the new language evolved from an idiom that did not perfectly reflect individuals' communicative intentions to language suitable to convey newly assimilated values and practices (Hammer, 2015, 2016). Indeed, even though several studies confirmed the supremacy of the L1 over any LX, a few contingent factors, such as considering the LX a dominant language (Dewaele, 2004c,

2008, 2015; Hammer, 2015), the degree of LX socialisation (Hammer, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013, 2017; Pavlenko, 2013), the types of interlocutors individuals interact with (Dewaele, 2008; Hammer, 2016), personality aspects (Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013, 2017) or simply a more frequent use of the language (Dewaele, 2010a, 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012) seemed to direct the trajectory of the LX as increasingly closer to the L1. Dewaele described the progressive conceptual shift towards the LX – especially for emotion scripts or perceived emotionality of the language – as due to participants' degree of affective socialisation within the LX community (2008, 2010a, 2015) and interpreted linguistic dominance as a latent sign of acculturation. However, language shift to the LX is not automatic (Dewaele, 2004c; Hammer, 2015, 2016), and the same can be said for the acceptance of a new language as suitable to express deep emotions or peculiar emotional scripts (Dewaele, 2008, 2010a, 2011). Some studies proved that personality characteristics could have a role to play here, explaining why individuals have different reactions to the instillation of a new language in their hearts and minds (Hammer, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Wilson, 2008, 2013; Mijatović & Tytus, 2016; Dewaele & Panicacci, 2017, 2017b). Yet, migrants' attitudes in terms of cultural orientation could provide a reliable explanation for people's linguistic preferences. More specifically, a strong sense of belonging to the L1 culture might boost migrants desire to share L1 culture practices, traditions and values with L1 speakers, increasing their chances to use the L1 for expressing emotions and their cognitive attachment to the L1. Conversely, advanced levels of LX socialisation could conceptually link to the LX culture appreciation, in the sense that a high degree of

engagement with LX society could guide migrants to reach a higher understanding of local cultural practices and underlying ideologies. Surely, the two things go in hands (Matsumoto, 1994; Matsumoto & Assar, 1992). Hence, the borderline between cultures and languages is not precisely traced and they both overlap and interact in migrants' psyche (Dewaele, 2016a; Grosjean, 2015; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a; Pavlenko, 2006). Strikingly, the fact that participants' sense of feeling different when using the LX was constrained by their sense of belonging to the LX culture perfectly matched this interpretation (Hammer, 2016; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a). Indeed, the appreciation and understanding of the LX culture went together with participants' gradual acceptance of the LX as a dominant language as well as a reliable means to communicate and express personal feelings. It is possible that the more the LX becomes familiar, the more individuals' self-perceptions while using it can pass unnoticed, as they become the norm. This conclusion could also explain the reason why migrants' feelings of difference progressively dissolve when interacting with more familiar interlocutors (Mijatović & Tytus, 2016; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b) or about more neutral topics (Mijatović & Tytus, 2016; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b). In other words, migrants' familiarity with the new culture goes in hands with their familiarity with the new language, constraining their sense of feeling like a different person while speaking it.

V.4.2. Personality Aspects: the evidence of Migrants' Hybridity

This final section will outline all results from the perspective of migrants' personality profiles. The idea is to observe this network of

relationships from a psychological point of view, isolating and discussing the advantages of personal characteristics and the effects on personality profiles when migrants face a new culture. The purpose of incorporating all findings together is to provide an *ensemble* picture of variance across all factors analysed: linguistic aspects, cultural aspects and personality aspects. The idea of starting the discussion from personality profile is motivated by the fact that psychological variables where the only uni-dimensional variables of the study, in the sense that they did not have any counterpart, which linguistic and cultural variables did when representing L1 and LX aspects.

Personality undoubtedly proved to be a key element involved in acculturation and linguistic changes in participants' experiences. Indeed, personal characteristics partly explained why only some individuals developed the same cultural and linguistic attitudes when facing a new society; at the same time, results showed how migrants' personalities could change to different extents after exposure to the LX culture according to their cultural and linguistic behaviour. In all cases, the hypotheses focusing on personality traits have been confirmed. Indeed, the statistical and qualitative findings mostly showed how some participants' personality characteristics linked to their attachment to L1 and L1 culture while others linked to their attachment to LX and LX culture. In other words, no personality trait positively and negatively linked with both L1 and LX variables (table 23). This finding is meaningful in the sense that it proved that languages and cultures can coexist in migrants' minds, recalling Grosjean's opinion that a dichotomous choice might never really takes place (2010). Several studies corroborated the idea of multilingualism as linguistic and cognitive hybridity,

intended as the ability to switch between different ways of thinking, different behaviours or mind-sets, as well as the possibility of perceiving the world through multiple perspectives at the same time (Dewaele, 2016a; Grosjean, 2015; Koven, 1998, 2001; Pavlenko, 2006). However, only a few studies addressed the issue including personality aspects in order to consider how these psychological factors might change to reproduce individuals' linguistic and cultural hybridity (Furnham & Heaven, 1999; Guiora, 1975; Jang & al., 1996; McCrae & al., 2000; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a), attempting to explain migrants' sense of leading a 'double life' (Besemeres, 2004; Hoffman, 1989; Parks, 1996; Pavlenko, 2001; Stavans, 2001; Ye, 2003; Wierzbicka, 1985, 1997, 1999, 2004). The following section will consider each trait separately.

V.4.2.1. Cultural Empathy: the ability to identify cultural diversity

Cultural Empathy connected positively with migrants' attachment to LX and LX culture. It seems soundly consistent that participants with high scores on this trait also tended to appreciate LX intrusion in their private and emotional life and LX cultural practices. Considering personality results, previous research showed how personality affects the way people acculturate (Kim, 2001; Leong, 2007; Peltokorpi & Froese, 2011), where individuals who are more open to empathise with diversity are usually better able to understand and identify themselves with different cultural practices. When considering the previous literature, the cultural traits that emerged as good predictors of LX Acculturation were not always the same (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Leong, 2007; Kim, 2001,

2008; McCrae & al, 1998; Peltokorpi and Froese, 2011; Ventura & al., 2016). However, it could be argued that the present dissertation was not directly addressing or measuring acculturation outcomes, but attitudes instead. Therefore, the impact of personality on LX Acculturation is interpreted here as an impact of individuals' general perception of the LX culture as more attractive, interesting and appealing to them. In other words, it could be said that Cultural Empathy boosted migrants' motivation to develop traits from the new cultural framework. Indeed, this trait only explained a small variance on how people get attached to the LX culture and – on the other hand – resulted in being affected only by participants' LX Dominance and LX Acculturation. In other words, migrants who were naturally more attracted to different beliefs and ideologies were more likely to appreciate LX culture practices and, as they became more attached to the new cultural scenario, they developed further abilities to empathise with different cultures. The interpretation of findings, thus, seems to promote the idea that the deliberate act of instilling the new language in daily life and inner thinking strengthens individuals' cultural skills. These considerations followed the line of previous research, confirming the fact that language dominance could be somehow interpreted as a linguistic indication of migrants' acculturation level (Dewaele, 2004c, 2008, 2010a, 2015; Hammer, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017) and that the immersion in a different culture could boost one's cultural skills when approached with an open attitude towards the new means of communication (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Wei, 2013; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Peltokorpi and Froese, 2011; Ventura & al., 2016). All aspects concerning LX use for emotion expression did not determine any variance on Cultural Empathy and were not affected by this trait.

V.4.2.2 Flexibility: the liking for novelty and change

Conversely to Cultural Empathy, the trait Flexibility exclusively related to L1 culture and L1 use for expressing emotions (table 23). The fact that high levels of Flexibility did not relate to high levels of LX Acculturation but were linked with lower levels of L1 Acculturation was particularly striking. In a way, these results are meaningful. Indeed, people who score high on Flexibility perceive new and unknown situations as a challenge and are able to change behavioral patterns in response to unexpected or constrained circumstances within another culture. However, it does not necessarily follow that they will actually find the new cultural environment attractive. A lot of participants said that the experience of migration made them more flexible and able to adapt to different settings. Yet, it did not necessarily boost their appreciation for the LX culture. On the other hand, it makes sense that those individuals who see unknown situations as a threat and tend to stick to trusted behavioral patterns (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2000) will remain more attached to their L1 practices. As a proof of that, some participants, voicing a strong distress due to their migration experience, cured their fear for the uncertainty they were facing in the new cultural settings by reinforcing the link with their L1 identity.

Linguistic variables did not explain any variance in Flexibility, and were not affected by this trait. Hence, participants' rigidity mainly increased their L1 cultural orientation and grew with the maintenance of a strong attachment to the L1 culture.

V.4.2.3 Social Initiative: taking the initiative in social interactions

The Social Initiative dimension was related to several aspects of LX culture and language (table 23). Recurrent correlations emerged between Social Initiative and LX use for expressing emotions, LX Dominance and LX Acculturation. Even if this dimension only accounted for a small effect on LX Emotion Expression and LX Acculturation, it seemed to be affected by all variables related to host culture and language. In other words, sociable migrants were keen on using the LX for expressing emotions and able to appreciate LX cultural aspects and – at the same time – their social skills were optimised through their frequent use of LX in their emotional conversations and other domains of life and through their attachment to new culture. Interestingly, the personality dimension that both contributed to explain variance in migrants' emotion expression in the LX and also appeared as affected by their LX use for this purpose was the trait that regulates individuals' social skills. As mentioned previously, the variable measuring LX use for expressing emotions was indicative of migrants' levels of affective socialisation in the LX. It followed that more sociable migrants were able to rely on a larger network of relationships with LX speakers and consequently have more chances to develop LX emotional scripts and use the LX to express emotions (Dewaele, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017; Pavlenko, 2006). These findings corroborate the idea that individuals who had strongly socialised into their LX culture generally reported local linguistic practices, like swearing (Dewaele, 2010), or familiarity with peculiar LX emotion scripts, like the sentence 'I love you' (Dewaele, 2008)

and ultimately ended up being more confident when using LX emotional vocabulary and colloquial expressions (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002) and when expressing emotions in the LX in general (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013).

On the other hand, having more chances to interact with people from different backgrounds – also in informal contexts – is a factor that could boost one's social skills (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). Hence, a more frequent use of the LX in colloquial conversations – and an implicit wider network of LX speakers with whom to share those informal conversations – could ultimately up-skill migrants in terms of their ability to socially interact, making them progressively more confident in their socialisation processes. Participants explained how learning to socialise in the LX, and engage in friendly conversations, helped them becoming more open to social interactions and more talkative. Several studies contemplated the possibility that personality could be shaped by social and biographical factors and that acculturation processes could be traumatic but the experience of being in contact with different languages and cultures could reinforce an individual's socio-cultural skills (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Wei, 2013; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Peltokorpi and Froese, 2011; Ventura & al., 2016). The fact that previous research has not always revealed specific effects of the trait Social Initiative could be motivated by considering that this trait appeared as uniquely connected to migrants' LX affective socialisation, something that was not directly addressed by preceding studies as a potential predictor of changes in migrants' social skills.

Likewise, LX Acculturation was both a predictor and a criterion of Social Initiative. Specifically, sociable migrants tended to appreciate the LX culture and their progressive identification with LX culture traits made them more socially skilled. Being attracted to LX culture could certainly determine a different social behaviour in the sense that it might push migrants to seek more contacts with locals (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 2000). Once again, those migrants who accomplished the ability to socialise with different people in a different language inevitably resulted as being more socially skilled.

LX Dominance, on the other hand, appeared to be a predictor of Social Initiative, but was not affected by it. It is possible that language dominance is more a cognitive aspect of migrants' experience; hence, their social skills cannot really explain any variance on it. However, when migrants achieve a higher interaction within the LX community it seems inevitable that they will have to rely on the LX more frequently and in diverse contexts. Based on the above, LX Dominance could be seen as a linguistic indication of the effects of LX Acculturation (Dewaele, 2004c, 2008, 2010a, 2015; Hammer, 2015 Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014).

V.4.2.3 Openmindedness: an unprejudiced attitude towards diversity

Openmindedness was positively linked to LX culture and language. This scale both predicted a good portion of variance in LX Dominance and LX Acculturation and – at the same time – was affected by those variables. In other words, those participants reporting to be open to new ideas and different beliefs were keener on allowing a new language and new cultural

practices in their life and, as a result, reported feeling increasingly more open-minded. If Social Initiative was the trait which developed a mutual relationship with LX Emotion Expression, Openmindedness was the one that more strongly related to LX Dominance, recalling previous findings analysing this personality characteristic (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2017). Thus, being open-minded seemed to be the best way for migrants to accept a new language into private spheres of their life and into their minds. Obviously, this goes very well with the simultaneous acceptance of new values and norms from the new cultural environment (Hammer, 2015). Participants often explained how the pervasion of the new LX in their life was somehow related to their increased understanding and acceptance of LX culture. It is unsurprising that to be able to accept a new means of communication in different domains of daily and cognitive life, individuals need to be unprejudiced and open to change (Kim, 2001, 2008). Some participants voiced a deep understanding of how hard the process of learning to think in an LX was and – in some instances – they explained how being tolerant of mistakes was something that helped them learning the language. Dewaele & van Oudenhoven (2009) indicated that multilinguals were more open-minded than incipient bilinguals and also that individuals who felt dominant in more than one language reported higher scores on this trait. The authors explained their findings by referring to the idea that to speak an LX authentically is like taking on a new identity (Guiora & al., 1975: 48). Not surprisingly, this shift towards a new identity would be impossible without a higher level of Openmindedness (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009: 15). On the other hand, the language dominance measure provided "the vital link to solve the puzzle" (p.15). Indeed, Dewaele and van Oudenhoven (2009) interpreted this concept as a form of 'linguistic

acculturation' and claimed that the process of linguistic and cultural acculturation had obvious benefits, such as making people more tolerant and open to different beliefs. These findings also confirmed the considerations of Chen & al. (2008) on the psychological benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism, as well as results in terms of Tolerance of Ambiguity (Dewaele & Wei, 2013). Similarly, Dewaele & Stavans (2014) considered language dominance as an indication of the cultural and linguistic acculturation that participants underwent. However, in their study, it only had a significant effect on Emotional Stability. One possible explanation is that their sample was highly multilingual. Indeed, they explained the difference compared to findings from Dewaele & van Oudenhoven (2009) by speculating that the effect of language dominance was most evident when comparing monolinguals or incipient bilinguals with functional bi- or multilinguals, rather than functional bilinguals with functional multilinguals (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014: 15)[17]. Hence, it seems that language dominance could have an effect on multilinguals' personality and this effect is mostly visible when people are confronted with a new cultural experience. In other words, if the distinction is more salient between monolingual or incipient bilingual and bi-multilinguals, rather than between different degrees of multilingualism, the difference seems to be the initial impact with an LX, which is undoubtedly more meaningful if accompanied by full immersion in the LX culture. This

[17] As mentioned in section II.6.2.2., the authors labeled 'incipient bilinguals' all monolinguals that were in the process of learning a LX and were not yet using the language outside the classroom. On the contrary, 'functional multilinguals' referred to all participants that reported knowledge of more than two languages (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009: 10)

conclusion could also explain why LX Dominance and LX Acculturation showed a joint effect on this trait.

V.4.2.3 Emotional Stability: coping with emotional discomfort

The trait Emotional Stability had most connections with linguistic variables (table 23). What emerged from results is that this personality dimension was linked to migrants' attachment to their L1 and L1 culture and their sense of feeling different when using the LX. Thus, the ability to keep calm in stressful situations was strongly connected with individuals' appreciation for what is familiar to them. Migrants who felt more emotionally insecure found shelter in their L1 language and culture. This makes even more sense when considering that the connection between this trait and L1 use emerged distinctly when participants mentioned emotions. Indeed, informants considering emotion experiences as the domain of the L1 tended to score low on Emotional Stability. Voicing inner feelings could be a quite stressful experience *per se* and having the chance to rely on a familiar language, the one that feel closer to the heart, gave participants a strong sense of relief. Interestingly, this personality trait was also linked to informants' sense of feeling different when using the LX. It was often mentioned that feelings of difference mostly surfaced when emotions are involved (tables 2, 3c). It could be argued, therefore, that those respondents experiencing emotional stress in having to deal with a new culture and a new language tended to stick to what offered them comfort, such the L1, especially in emotionally charged situations where they felt a stronger mismatch and sense of unfamiliarity with the LX. These findings shed new light on previous studies analysing migrants' emotional attitudes and perceptions. Specifically,

these results could explain why multilinguals tend to report feeling different when using any LX mainly when talking about emotions (Dewaele, 2016a; Mijatović & Tytus, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2005; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b) and why some individuals tend to maintain a stronger attachment to the L1 emotion terms and expressions, while some others gradually shift to the LX, perceiving it as an emotional language (Dewaele, 2004c, Dewaele, 2007, 2008, 2010a, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013).

It is also worth briefly considering the fact that migrants' linguistic attitudes also had an effect on this personality trait. In other words, participants' extensive use of the L1 for expressing intimate feelings slightly increased their emotional insecurity. Indeed, acculturation processes might be seriously traumatic for emotionally fragile people. Enduring in a situation of discomfort might progressively increase the levels of stress and deteriorate individuals' resistance to emotional pressure (McCrae & al, 1998). This could be particularly visible in those participants who created more conditions of strain by holding on to their emotional attachment to the L1 and sheltering in their L1 traditions against mainstream attitudes. Some qualitative findings highlighted how maintaining the L1 as the language of the heart had prevented participants from assimilating new socio-cultural constructs and emotional patterns typical of the LX, thus estranging them even more from their surroundings and ultimately increasing their sense of alienation when speaking the LX.

To conclude the final discussion focused on personality, it is worth explaining the consistent mismatch with previous findings (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). As previously mentioned, it

could be argued that Dewaele and Oudenhoven (2009) focused on the experience of young teenagers, who might perceive the impact of a new culture as more stressful compared to adults who willingly decided to migrate to a new country. Likewise, as the present sample consisted of first generation migrants only, it could be speculated that the effects on Emotional Stability are determined by the L1 culture and language, rather than the host ones, simply because the L1 and L1 culture are still cognitively and emotionally close to participants. This could be the reason why previous research with participants having different degrees of multilingualism found different patterns (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014)

V.5. Concluding Remarks

All hypotheses have been discussed and a final exhaustive overview of findings has been provided looking at each personality variable, as this was believed to be the clearest method to adopt. Overall, findings confirmed the initial hypotheses and the theoretical framework of the present research, presented in Chapter I (section I.5.), and preceding studies, listed in Chapter II (section II.7.2.). The following chapter will discuss the limitations of the study and provide a more general overview of the most significant outcomes of the present dissertation in order to illustrate the socio-cultural and linguistic relevance of the findings and possibly inspire future research.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

VI.1. A Final Overview

This final chapter summarises the key findings outlined and discussed in Chapters IV and V. The significance of the study will be restated in the light of the findings and in terms of future developments and implications, and a number of limitations will also be acknowledged.

VI.1.1. Limitations of the present study

A few limitations of the present research design must be mentioned before concluding.

VI.1.1.1. Technical Limitations

Firstly, any combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis involves some degree of compromise. Indeed, interviews have been used to support statistical findings and to investigate quantitative results further, offering an illustration of the statistical patterns. This method is widely accepted in Applied Linguistics (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, 2011) and extensively used in other studies (Dewaele, 2005; Dörnyei 2007, Hashemi, 2012; Saville-Troike, 2003). In particular, the present dissertation followed the steps of Dewaele and Tsui Shan Ip's research (2013) – in terms of the way statistical analysis has been performed – and Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2014) study in terms of the way results have been presented. Such a mixed methods approach could be considered a good alternative to a forced choice

between exclusive quantitative or qualitative instructed research in Applied Linguistics (Dewaele, 2005: 369). Indeed, the use of a combination of different methods could help in overcoming some of the obstacles so commonly found in language and cultural research (Ramírez-Esparza & al., 2006; Ramírez -Esparza, Gosling, & Pennebaker, 2008). Specifically, unstructured interviews helped in understanding the discrepancies sometimes observed between this study and previous studies, as well as providing an *ensemble* picture of the complex network of connections investigated.

Secondly, it is worth evaluating the web questionnaires used. In line with the general limitations of online questionnaires (Wilson & Dewaele, 2010), it was impossible to control the following: the testing environment, the likelihood of participants choosing the neutral option for the ambiguous questions, clicking the wrong box or corrupting the scale and not being able to move back and correct it, being distracted by external stimuli or speeding up the responses towards the end of the questionnaire. Specifically, the average time required to fill out the questionnaire was 35 minutes, which is slightly longer than what is recommended (Dörnyei, 2003) and there was no chance to save the answers in order to re-open the questionnaire a second time. It was perhaps ambitious to attempt to cover three distinct areas (the linguistic, the cultural and the psychological ones) in a single web-questionnaire in order to answer the corresponding research questions adequately. However, the idea of keeping each session separated inside the same survey potentially reduced the chance of influencing the results of items that were placed at the end. Indeed, each session required participants to

provide different types of answer (multiple choices, comments, grid, Likert scales) in order to avoid the possibility of getting distracted or bored. It could also be argued that the idea of conducting interviews a second time could have contributed to overcome potential limitations coming from the use of a web-questionnaire. Moreover, it is important to say that the language of the questionnaire was English, participants' LX. Indeed, some of the instruments used, like the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) did not have an official Italian translation. Furthermore, despite the fact that all participants had to be first-generation migrants of Italian origin, there was no limit in terms of number of years spent abroad and there was no requirement in terms of L1 proficiency, especially because, in some parts of Italy, the local dialect is generally more common than standard Italian. However, LX proficiency had to be taken into consideration, so to guarantee at least minimal social engagement with the LX society. In other words, it was crucial to make sure participants were able to communicate in the LX. Participants were free to use the L1 when answering open questions or commenting on topics; however, it must be acknowledged that the choice of the language could have influenced participants' answers. In support of this, the MPQ has been shown to have cross-cultural equivalence, as emerged from its Dutch, Italian, German and Australian versions (van Oudenhoven, Timmerman, & van der Zee, 2007). Similar satisfactory results were found with an American–English version (Ponterotto, Utsey, & Pederson, 2006). Therefore, it should not matter which the language it is administrated in. Yet, it must be acknowledged that there are consistent criticisms regarding the equivalence of responses across different languages.

Another important consideration is the choice of sampling strategy. The online survey took place over a five-month period, from February to July. The sampling strategy could be described as 'convenience sampling' on a relatively large scale (Wilson & Dewaele, 2010). Indeed, access to the questionnaire was limited to people with access to the Internet. Nevertheless, it was not limited to people without the necessary requirements mentioned in the questionnaire instructions. This is why a thorough consideration of results has been conducted in order to spot potential outliers or informants without the required characteristics. The questionnaire was distributed among students and staff at several UK, American, Irish and Canadian universities and it was also largely advertised on several social network websites or websites of Italian associations, institutions, societies and communities. The purpose was to gather participants with as many diverse qualities as possible. The total number of respondents was 468, which was believed to be sufficient considering the number of independent variables. Clearly, the sample was not fully representative of the general population. However, this is the typical outcome of data gathered using web questionnaires concerning language issues (Wilson & Dewaele, 2010). Nevertheless, the advantages of using an online questionnaire were innumerable. Indeed, it allowed efficient and fast data collection from across the world with diverse socio-biographical specifics. Furthermore, it is important to mention that gender and education imbalances were not crucially relevant as the present study was not specifically addressing gender or education differences.

To conclude this section about the methodological limitations of the study, it is vital to note that several statistical tests have been performed, largely increasing the chance of inappropriately rejecting the null hypothesis. In order to avoid type I errors, several precautions have been applied and widely discussed, such as Bonferroni Correction (Loewen & Plonsky, 2015). A statistically significant result is one that is likely to be due to a systematic difference or relationship, not one that is likely to occur due to chance. No matter how carefully designed the research project is, there is always the possibility that the result is due to something other than the hypothesized factor. The need to control all possible alternative explanations of the observed phenomenon is crucial. The level that demarks statistical significance is completely under the control of the researcher and usually indicates the level of risk associated with rejecting a true null hypothesis. Regression analyses assumptions have been met and exhaustively discussed and each test has also been analysed using hierarchical regressions in order to spot single predictors' contribution to explaining variance on the criterion, considering their significance level separately. Generally, the *p* values were always extremely low, suggesting high levels of significance, though not always a large effect size. However, it is important to bear in mind that, when performing several tests on the same sample, the risk of wrongly rejecting true null hypothesis highly increases (Field, 2000).

VI.1.1.2. Theoretical considerations

Having directly addressed some of the methodological limitations, it is important mention other theoretical considerations. Indeed, the present research involved Italian migrants in English-Speaking countries (ESC). It

could be said that the specifics of the two languages and cultures analysed contributed to the final results. However, the present research is theoretically developed on some core assumptions that are crucial in supporting the idea that a different study would have potentially produced similar results. One of the most important assumptions to consider is that every culture produces specific emotional patterns (Pavlenko, 2005; Wierzbicka, 2004; Dewaele, 2010a, Ozańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Hence, it does not matter which cultures are analysed as there will be always a mismatch in the way emotions are expressed and perceived in the L1 and LX. Also, it has been considered that some systematic cultural differences of comprehension of emotions are due to L1 emotion scripts and socio-cultural competence (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele, 2010a, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Wierzbicka, 2004). This is why similar findings emerged across all LX cultures and countries. Similarly, the fact that socialisation processes in the LX may facilitate the acquisition of some culture-specific notions and that informants' cognitive processes could be modified by linguistic and cultural influence (Dewaele, 2010a; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013 Wierzbicka, 2004) is a consideration that goes beyond the specific language and culture of the case. In order to avoid a misinterpretation, the acronym 'LX' has been used to indicate the local language of the country of residence. Likewise, 'LX culture' stood for the host culture. In the present version of the VIA (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 2000) the terms 'L1 culture' and 'LX culture' have been substituted by 'heritage culture' and 'host culture' as it was believed to be easier for respondents to understand. A brief introduction explained to participants that they should consider the culture of their home country as their heritage

and the culture of the country in which they were residing as their host culture. In this way, the questionnaire could be distributed in different ESC to migrants coming from different parts of Italy.

Another important thought follows from the last consideration. No differences across LX cultures have been examined. Indeed, the idea was to generalise results as much as possible and the present study did not directly address differences in terms of specific acculturation cases. This research did not investigate specific cultural elements, the effects of acculturation or migrants' integration in the country. Indeed, acculturation is intended to be understood here as migrants' liking for specific cultural practices. Hence, the study aims to examine how migrants' desire to be part of the culture of the country they reside in or to maintain a strong connection with their heritage links to their personality and linguistic attitudes. Yet, all selected countries had relatively similar cultures and widely shared cultural products. The purpose of opening the data collection to different countries was merely motivated by the necessity of targeting a bigger sample and also the possibility of giving a wider and more general perspective to the study.

VI.2. Migrants' Linguistic and Cultural Hybridity

Findings showed that personality is affected by socio-cultural and linguistic factors, and vice versa. Several studies illustrated the connection between linguistic and cultural aspects, linguistic and personality aspects or cultural and personality aspects. The main purpose of this research was to create an *ensemble* picture of migrants' identity interconnecting all these factors, supporting the idea that the influence between socio-cultural and

psychological variables could really be bi-directional (Dewaele, 2016a) and that linguistic and cultural aspects are multi-dimensional constructs (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). One of most striking results of this thesis is that personality traits are affected by migrants' orientation towards both L1 and LX languages and cultures. Considering previous studies, which specific aspects of migrants' personality profiles changed due to the immersion into a new culture depended on what aspects of multilingualism and multiculturalism researchers focused on; if they considered migrants' assimilation or frequency of use of LXs as indicative of their contact with the LX society or if they analysed migrants' family history (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). The present research simply focused on migrants' appreciation for the new cultural practices and showed how the attraction for a new culture could change migrants inside (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a). Furthermore, no previous study analysed the effect of L1 culture on migrants' personality and results showed here how maintaining a bi-dimensional approach (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 1999, 2000) – including also heritage cultural aspects in the analysis – helped in better understanding migration experiences and migrants' practices.

It is also worth noting fact that the two cultural variables involved (L1 Acculturation and LX Acculturation) were not linked to the same traits. Initial hypotheses could not predict which trait would be linked to migrants' L1 cultural dimension and which one would be linked to migrants' LX cultural dimension. However, the fact that no personality feature related to both is consistent with the theoretical framework of this research, offering evidence to confirm that acculturation is really a bi-dimensional construct

(Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 1999). Indeed, Ryder, Alden, Paulhus (2000) theorised that individuals could simultaneously be oriented towards both cultural scenarios (the heritage and the mainstream ones) or could not be oriented towards either of the two. The researchers therefore wanted to verify whether the VIA dimensions independently linked to different personality traits, as they believed it to be a good way to test its bi-dimensionality (p. 50). The fact that different personal characteristics are involved in different acculturation processes – either to maintain L1 traits or to develop LX traits – explains how it is possible for migrants to engage with multiple cultures at the same time or disengage from both (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 1999, 2000; Schwartz & al. 2010, 2014). Findings provided evidence that acculturation and linguistic attitudes could be seen as bi-dimensional constructs – at least if interpreted as orientations – and that migrants' personality profiles play a crucial role in the process of cultural engagement both with their origins and the new environment they live in. In other words, cultures and languages can coherently overlap in migrants' minds creating a picture where the heritage language and culture and any language and culture acquired later in life are not in a dichotomous opposition to each other. Hence, a most crucial finding of this research was the evidence in support of migrants' linguistic and cultural hybridity (Guiora & al. 1975, Grosjean, 2010, 2015; Dewaele, 2016a; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b), offering an answer to Chen, Benet-Martínez and Bond's (2008: 832) call for studies acknowledging the complex interplay among identity, language, personality, and contextual variables in multicultural individuals.

VI.3. Future directions

The present research was the first one to attempt to empirically address the complex relationship between migrants' linguistic attitudes, acculturation and personality with reference to the heritage and host language and culture. The findings of the study showed that languages and cultures are not compartmentalised in migrants' minds and that their identity develops through a sort of linguisitic and cultural hybridity, where personality aspects are involved and affected by all other factors.More research is needed to confirm these findings and to settle some unresolved questions around the complexity of multilingual and multicultural identities. One of such questions is whether some common structures in terms of languages, emotions and culture could help in the process of developing a multilingual and multicultural identity.

Another question concerns the influence of time in acculturation processes and personality adaptation. Does time also play a role in determining this reciprocal network of relationships between linguistic, cultural and personality factors? Also, it would be interesting to verify what the connections are between the factors here examined in second or third-generation migrants.

VI.3.1 A new model explaining the construction of hybrid identities?

Another series of questions could more specifically address the issue of hybrid identities in modern societies, where multilingualism and cultural exchange have become the norm rather than the exception (Dewaele & Wei,

2013). Indeed, its original definition, *identitas* in Latin referred to the idea of sameness and, by implication, difference, while the modern concept of identity also includes psychological roots and is usually linked to the idea of 'self'. Both these ideas of identity inspired a range of concerns and conflicts regarding individuals and groups and the process by which they understand themselves in relation to others and to their social, political, cultural and environmental surroundings (Berger & Del Negro, 2004; Monceri, 2006). Identity practices of people, cultural groups or societies are often intended as a process of tracing borders, determining what is included and what is excluded in the concept of 'self' (Remotti, 1996). Years of rapid and intensified migration multiplied interactions and contacts with 'the other'. In spite of that, the nature of culturally and linguistically mixed identities has received little attention (Grosjean, 2015), while it seems to be a crucial aspect to study in order to favour cohesion in modern multiethnic societies. Super-diversity has often been pointed as loosening the ties of a common culture, posing a threat to the sense of community. The coexistence of different languages and cultures may indeed create disorientation in terms of how people and communities identify what they believe to be part of themselves and what they recognise to be 'other' and diverse. Modern super-diverse societies indubitably imply the necessity more flexibility in identification processes. The crucial question, inspired by the present dissertation, is: what makes individual confident with the idea of having a hybrid and 'not-so-defined identity'? What social, psychological, linguistic and contextual aspects could promote a stronger awareness of 'hybrid identities' and a more positive perception of multicultural and multilingual societies? Previous research in the field and present results showed that the vast majority of

multilinguals tend to feel different when operating in their different languages (Dewaele, 2016a; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer, 2016; Mijatović and Tytus, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a, b; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004; Wilson, 2008) and that this could to be related to their personality profiles (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013; Wilson, 2008; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a) as well as their cultural orientation (Hammer, 2016; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017a) or cultural difference (Mijatović & Tytus, 2016). This research also indicated that agreeable, sociable and open-minded individuals are more likely to appreciate different cultural practices (Kim, 2001) and, at the same time, multilingualism and multiculturalism could make people more open-minded and socio-culturally skilled (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014), as well as more tolerant of ambiguity, comfortable with uncertainty, unpredictability, conflicting directions, and multiple demands (Dewaele, Wei, 2013). Furthermore, migrants' emotional patterns have been found to express the prevalent meanings and practices of their cultural context. Therefore, their psychological processes and emotional experiences implicitly signal their socio-cultural affiliations and may thus be a function of acculturation (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011, De Leersnyder, 2014, Mesquita, 2003, 2010). Corroborating the idea that languages and cultures can coherently coexist in individuals' minds and that emotional fit may greatly help communication, engagement and participation in cultural meaning and identification practices, further studies could examine what migrants' socio-biographical and contextual factors, as well as linguistic and emotional attitudes, could make migrants' sense of feeling different when switching languages a positive experience. What could make migrants' sense

of leading a life across different cultures an enhancing experience? What stimulates migrants' emotional fit? In order to potentially identify those elements able to enhance individuals' tolerance of cultural and linguistic hybridity, favouring their integration into a super-diverse society, a fresh and innovative multidisciplinary approach, combining applied linguistics and cultural psychology, is crucial. The main question behind the idea of a model explaining the construction of hybrid identities would be how individuals, cultural groups and communities can adapt to a less-defined and linguistically and culturally flexible sense of 'self' that still remains meaningful. Specifically, the enquiry should be framed by considering the perspective of different generation migrants and also individuals living in a super-diverse environment, as believed to offer direct access to study the matter of developing a multilingual and multicultural self. Personality traits, level of emotional acculturation, language use and attitudes (frequency of use, dominance, degree of multilingualism, emotionality, degree of socialisation and networks of interlocutors), socio-biographical specifics (age, education, degree of multiculturalism, migration/family history, status in the country) are all crucial factor to explore. It is expected that higher levels of sociability, empathy towards diversity, flexibility, multilingualism and multiculturalism, as well as having a linguistically and culturally mixed network of interlocutors will boost individuals' confidence and awareness of their linguistically and culturally hybrid 'self', ultimately favouring their social cohesion in a super-diverse society. Said this, it is extremely important to consider both the individual and the societal perspectives simultaneously. Indeed, in a super-diverse society, analysing acculturative processes by only focusing on migrants' perspective is extremely reductive. Linguistically and

culturally mixed societies are also the result of migrants' contribution and migrants presence in a society cannot be considered as a silent one. In other words, attention should be also brought on how migrants contribute to create and change the local culture and how the local society absorb migrants' linguistic and cultural perspective and not only on the reverse process. Certainly, the idea of a new model of acculturation that simultaneously considers the constellation of individual forces behind the creation of the resulting culture would depict a more realistic picture of present-day societies, where the distinction between being an 'insider' or an 'outsider' might not be so bluntly clear anymore. In the present world, the ability to adopt a more flexible concept of identity, both at an individual and societal level, seems to be more than ever a crucial step to make a multicultural and multilingual community cohesive, consistent and tolerant. Theorising the idea of a hybrid identity could really provide new insights into the development, formation and negotiation of multilingual and multicultural selves and thus increase the understanding of migration contexts, raising awareness of aspects that could help establish a consistent and yet ethnically enriched and diverse society.

Appendix I: Figures and Tables

Table 1

Participants alternative languages

Languages spoken	No. participants
Spanish	173
None	169
French	163
German	69
Portuguese	23
Russian	8
Arabic	7
Dutch	5
Swedish	4
Chinese	4
Danish	3
Hebrew	3
Romanian	3
Swiss German	1
Polish	1
Japanese	1
Korean	1
Afrikaans	1
Ghananian	1
Czech	1
Croatian	1
Brazilian Portuguese	1
Cantonese	1
Mandarin	1
Farsi	1
Hindi	1
Latin	1
Ukrainian	1
Norwegian	1
Thai	1
Greek	1
Serbian	1
Friulan	1
Venetian	1
Sardo	1
Sicilian	1

Table 2

Feeling different when using the LX open-question theme categories

Theme Categories	Total insights	Sub-categories	Rationale	Total insights
Personality-identity	202	**Emotion expression is difficult in the LX**	Participants highlight several degrees of difficulty in expressing emotions in the LX.	66
		L1 is more emotional	L1 is depicted as having a higher emotional value, linguistic complexity and poetic character.	23
		Constraints in emotion expression in LX	LX makes participants feel less spontaneous, more rational and controlled in terms of emotion expression	27
		Frustration	Participants feel frustrated when speaking the LX, as they cannot express things accurately or sense they convey a defecting image of themselves to interlocutors.	40
		Gap - Detachment	LX lacks of something unidentified. Participants feel LX words as not theirs or experience a sense of detachment.	37
		Unknown	Participants cannot explain their sense of feeling different when using the LX.	9
	80	**Deep alienation**	Participants sense they have a different voice or use a different name when switching LXs	39
		LX influences personality	LX is claimed to influence participants' personality and cognition.	23
		Multilingual identity as enrichment	Sense of enrichment due to multilingualism. Participants realise different perspectives are disclosed by their languages and feel they can master different identities in their LXs	18
Cultural aspects	66	**Cultural aspects**	Socio-cultural aspects make people feel different when switching LXs	39
		Humour	Participants feel different feeling different when humour is involved.	9
		Cultural difference in emotions	Participants detect a difference in expressing emotions in their languages, linking it to their cultural background.	11
		Proficiency not involved	LX proficiency is not responsible for their sense of feeling different when using the language.	7
Emotions (positive)	35	**LX as a mask**	LX acts as a comforting protection, preventing migrants from revealing painful memories, fears or real aspects of the self.	18
		Emotion expression is easier in the LX	Participants enjoy expressing emotions in the LX, having found a new way of voicing their inner feelings.	17

Table 3a

Interviewees' survey scores

Part.	L1 E	LX E	L1 D	LX D	FDI	FD M	L1 Ac	LX Ac	CE	F	SI	O	ES
SG	12.3	9.1	5	4	2.2	1.67	8.9	8.6	32	20	25	30	23
DP	10.6	5,3	5	2	3.8	4.33	7.2	2.6	38	22	34	23	29
FF	8.6	11.5	4	3	3.6	3.33	7.0	7.7	36	25	35	30	17
FB	7.7	8.1	5	4	1.2	2	6.9	7.7	37	25	27	34	29
LF	9.3	8.6	4	4	1.2	3	6.7	7.6	36	28	33	36	19

Table 3b

Interviewees' specifics

Part	G	Ed	Status	Age	Age of Mig	LX Country	Years Abroad	LXs	Notes
SG	M	BA	Perm. Resident	33	28	London, UK	5	N/A	Migrated together with her Italian partner
DP	F	MSc	Perm. Resident	45	27	London, UK	18	German French Spanish	Married to a British with a son. Also lived in German for a couple of years.
FF	F	MA	Citizen	42	24	London, UK	13	Spanish French Portuguese	Married to an Egyptian-British with a son. Also lived in Belgium and Spain for a few years
FB	F	MSc	Citizen	35	29	Chester, UK Also lived in Bath and London	6	N/A	Partnership with a Welsh
LF	F	PhD	Temp. Resident	28	19	London, UK	8.5	N/A	Recently got together with an Italian partner

Table 3c

Interview categories

Code	Sub-code	Freq.	Rationale
Socio-Cultural aspects	**Attachment to native language**	**124**	Participants contemplate the beauty of their native language and their strong connection with it
	Attachment to heritage culture	**105**	Participants express their fondness for their culture of origin, discussing typical values and practices they miss
	Liking the host culture	**95**	It refers to participants' appreciation for host culture practices and values.
	Emotional attitudes in the host culture	**83**	Participants detect a difference in expressing emotions in the LX and show appreciation for host culture emotional patterns
	Loving the LX	**70**	Participants express fondness for the LX
	Social contact with host society	**38**	Participants discuss their network of relationships within LX society
	Humour	**25**	Participants report either their frustration for not being able to relate to local humor or they appreciation for it
Language - emotion perception	**Constraints in expressing emotions in the Lx and frustration**	**118**	Participants highlight several degrees of difficulty in expressing emotions in the LX or express frustration as they cannot express themselves accurately
	LX allows a better emotional experience	**48**	LX allows a more detached expression of feelings or perfectly serve the purpose of conveying intimate emotions
	L1 is more emotional	**36**	L1 has a higher emotional value or more suitable to express intimate feelings
Migrants' identity	**Struggle and alienation**	**70**	Participants struggle in defining their identity, perceiving a different self or voice or using a different name in different LXs
	Transformation	**43**	It refers to a sort of identity transformation process triggered by the new language or participants' experience in the new culture
	Heritage culture identity travels over	**43**	Participants feel particularly attached to some aspects -typical of their culture of origin- and want to incorporate them in their new identity
Personality changes	**Language affects personality**	**52**	Participants recognise a deep influence of their languages on their personality and cognitive operations.
	Acculturation affects personality	**47**	Participants comment on how their migration experience influenced their personality
	Emotions affect personality	**43**	Emotion expression in the new language is pointed as influencing personality aspects
Migration experience	**Migration and emotions**	**63**	Participants share their emotional experiences related to their migration
	Personality traits favouring acculturation	**41**	It refers to personality aspects that migrants recognise as having a crucial impact on their integration in the new culture
Balancing two sides	**Living between two cultures**	**50**	Participants express their positive feelings or stress of coping with a life between two different cultural worlds
	Living between two languages	**41**	It refers to participants' appreciation or difficulties of living with two languages

Table 4

Correlation analyses conducted on emotion expression variables

Pearson's Correlation	L1 Emotion Expression	LX Emotion Expression
L1 Acculturation	**.278****	-.043
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.351
LX Acculturation	-.040	**.311****
Sig. (2-tailed)	.384	.000
Cultural Empathy	-.025	**.146****
Sig. (2-tailed)	.588	.002
Flexibility	**-.132****	.014
Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.755
Social Initiative	-.020	**.198****
Sig. (2-tailed)	.668	.000
Openmindedness	-.047	**.194****
Sig. (2-tailed)	.305	.000
Emotional Stability	**-.161****	.008
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.869

* Correlations are significant with a p value above 0.007

Table 7

Correlation analyses conducted on language dominance variables

Pearson's Correlation	L1 Dominance	LX Dominance
L1 Acculturation	**.206****	-.035
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.445
LX Acculturation	-.115*	**.256****
Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	.000
Cultural Empathy	-.004	**.190****
Sig. (2-tailed)	.938	.000
Flexibility	-.093*	.012
Sig. (2-tailed)	.043	.788
Social Initiative	-.096*	**.187****
Sig. (2-tailed)	.038	.000
Openmindedness	-.037	**.230****
Sig. (2-tailed)	.429	.000
Emotional Stability	-.052	.079
Sig. (2-tailed)	.264	.088

* Correlations are significant with a p value above 0.007

Table 12

Correlation analyses of acculturation variables

Pearson's Correlation	L1 Acculturation	LX Acculturation
Cultural Empathy	.116*	**.267****
Sig. (2-tailed)	.012	.000
Flexibility	**-.169****	-.053
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.253
Social Initiative	.073	**.181****
Sig. (2-tailed)	.116	.000
Openmindedness	.008	**.230****
Sig. (2-tailed)	.867	.000
Emotional Stability	**-.139****	.013
Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.771

* Correlations are significant with a p value above 0.01

Table 21

Statistical findings summary illustrating correlations across all variables

Personality traits	**Cultural Orientation**	**Linguistic Variables**
Cultural Empathy	LX Culture attachment	LX Emotion Expression LX Dominance
Flexibility	L1 Culture attachment	L1 Emotion Expression
Social Initiative	LX Culture attachment	LX Emotion Expression LX Dominance
Openmindedness	LX Culture attachment	LX Emotion Expression LX Dominance
Emotional Stability	L1 Culture attachment	L1 Emotion Expression FD Interlocutors FD Matters

Table 22

Statistical findings summary illustrating variance across all variables

Predictors	Variables	Criterions
LINGUISTIC ASPECTS		
L1 Acculturation Emotional Stability	L1 Emotion Expression	L1 Acculturation Emotional Stability
LX Acculturation Social Initiative	LX Emotion Expression	LX Acculturation Social Initiative
L1 Acculturation	L1 Dominance	L1 Acculturation
LX Acculturation Openmindedness	LX Dominance	LX Acculturation Cultural Empathy Social Initiative Openmindedness
Emotional Stability	FD Interlocutors	N/A
LX Acculturation, Emotional Stability	FD Matters	N/A
CULTURAL ASPECTS		
L1 Emotion Expression L1 Dominance Flexibility Emotional Stability	L1 Acculturation	L1 Emotion Expression L1 Dominance Flexibility Emotional Stability
LX Emotion Expression LX Dominance Cultural Empathy Openmindedness	LX Acculturation	LX Emotion Expression LX Dominance FD Matters Cultural Empathy Social Initiative Openmindedness
PERSONALITY ASPECTS		
LX Acculturation LX Dominance	Cultural Empathy	LX Acculturation
L1 Acculturation	Flexibility	L1 Acculturation
LX Emotion Expression LX Dominance LX Acculturation	Social Initiative	LX Emotion Expression LX Acculturation
LX Acculturation LX Dominance	Openmindedness	LX Acculturation LX Dominance
L1 Emotion Expression L1 Acculturation	Emotional Stability	L1 Emotion Expression FD Interlocutors FD Matters L1 Acculturation

Appendix II: Questionnaires

Emotion, Personality and Acculturation Questionnaire

Thank you for taking part in this study!

This research is being done as part of my PhD degree with the Department of Applied Linguistics and Communication, Birkbeck, University of London and has received ethical approval.

The purpose of this research project is to explore the interplay between expressing emotions in a foreign language, other linguistic and cultural aspects and personality characteristics.

Please answer **ALL** questions and complete the questionnaire only once.

You are free to withdraw from filling in the questionnaire at any time and data will be lost.

You will be asked your privacy preferences at the end of the questionnaire. Data is absolutely confidential and can remain unpublished, according to your consent.

For further information, please do not hesitate to contact me at a.panicacci@mail.bbk.ac.uk

Please indicate that you understood the purpose of the study, that you are over18 and you willingly consent to take part to this questionnaire.

- ○ Yes, I do

Personal Information

Name and Surname (you can choose a fictional name or an acronym): (text)

Gender: (Multiple choice)

- Male
- Female
- Other

DOB:

Please verify you entered the correct date of birth:

DD/MM/YYYY

Country of birth: (text)
Please state whether you come from a bicultural family

Country of residence: (text)

Education Level: (text)
Highest qualification or current programme of study

Actual Status in the UK: (Multiple choice)

- UK citizen
- Permanent resident
- Temporary resident
- Other

Email or alternative contact: (text)

Please state the exact age (e.g. 18) at time of resettlement and reason of migration: Summer school classes, short-term journeys or general visits NOT included, as the question refers to long term resettlement only. (paragraph)

Considering English language: on a scale from 1 (least proficient) to 5 (fully fluent) how would you rate yourself in... ? (Grid - Scale)

	1	2	3	4	5
reading	○	○	○	○	○
writing	○	○	○	○	○
listening	○	○	○	○	○
speaking	○	○	○	○	○

Emotion, Language and Self-perceptions Questionnaire

Section extracted from Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (Dewaele & Pavlenko 2001-2003)

How often do you speak Italian with ... ?

Please select Never – N/A when not applicable (Grid – multiple choice never, every year, every month, every week, every day)

	N/A	never	every year	every month	every week	every day
strangers	○	○	○	○	○	○
colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
family	○	○	○	○	○	○
partner	○	○	○	○	○	○

How often do you speak English with ... ?

Please select Never – N/A when not applicable (Grid – multiple choice never, every year, every month, every week, every day)

	N/A	never	every year	every month	every week	every day
strangers	○	○	○	○	○	○
colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
family	○	○	○	○	○	○
partner	○	○	○	○	○	○

Do you speak any other language (excluding Italian or English)? (paragraph)

Please state the alternative languages you speak and how frequently you use them as from previous questions (never, every year, every month, every week, every day)

Please state what language(s) – excluding Italian – you speak with your partner and your children, if apply.

If you do not have a partner or you do not have children, please skip this question. (paragraph – not mandatory)

Do you feel like a different person when speaking English with...?

Please select Never – N/A when not applicable (Grid – multiple choice never – N/A, rarely, sometimes, frequently, all the time)

	N/A	never	rarely	sometimes	frequently	all the time
strangers	○	○	○	○	○	○
colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
family	○	○	○	○	○	○
partner	○	○	○	○	○	○

Do you feel like a different person when speaking English in specific circumstances?

Please select Never – N/A when not applicable (Grid – multiple choice never – N/A, rarely, sometimes, frequently, all the time)

	never	rarely	sometimes	frequently	all the time
neutral matters	○	○	○	○	○
personal matters	○	○	○	○	○
emotional matters	○	○	○	○	○

If you feel like a different person when speaking English please gives reasons, explain your feelings about that (paragraph – not mandatory)

On a scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (absolutely) which one do you consider to be your dominant language? (Grid - Scale)

	not at all	somehow	more or less	to a large extent	absolutely
Italian	○	○	○	○	○
English	○	○	○	○	○

If you are angry how often do you typically choose to express your anger in Italian when you are speaking with ...?

Please select Never – N/A when not applicable (Grid – multiple choice never – N/A, rarely, sometimes, frequently, all the time)

	N/A	never	rarely	sometimes	frequently	all the time
strangers	○	○	○	○	○	○
colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
family	○	○	○	○	○	○
partner	○	○	○	○	○	○
alone	○	○	○	○	○	○

If you are angry how often do you typically choose to express your anger in English when you are speaking with ...?

Please select Never – N/A when not applicable (Grid – multiple choice never – N/A, rarely, sometimes, frequently, all the time)

	N/A	never	rarely	sometimes	frequently	all the time
strangers	○	○	○	○	○	○
colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
family	○	○	○	○	○	○
partner	○	○	○	○	○	○
alone	○	○	○	○	○	○

How often do you choose to express your love or affection in Italian?

Please select Never – N/A when not applicable (Grid – multiple choice never – N/A, rarely, sometimes, frequently, all the time)

	N/A	never	rarely	sometimes	frequently	all the time
colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
family	○	○	○	○	○	○
partner	○	○	○	○	○	○

How often do you choose to express your love or affection in English?

Please select Never – N/A when not applicable (Grid – multiple choice never – N/A, rarely, sometimes, frequently, all the time)

	N/A	never	rarely	sometimes	frequently	all the time
colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
family	○	○	○	○	○	○
partner	○	○	○	○	○	○

If you swear, how often do you swear in Italian with ...?

Please select Never – N/A when not applicable (Grid – multiple choice never – N/A, rarely, sometimes, frequently, all the time)

	N/A	never	rarely	sometimes	frequently	all the time
strangers	○	○	○	○	○	○
colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
family	○	○	○	○	○	○
partner	○	○	○	○	○	○
alone	○	○	○	○	○	○

If you swear, how often do you swear in English with ...?

Please select Never – N/A when not applicable (Grid – multiple choice never – N/A, rarely, sometimes, frequently, all the time)

	N/A	never	rarely	sometimes	frequently	all the time
strangers	○	○	○	○	○	○
colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
family	○	○	○	○	○	○
partner	○	○	○	○	○	○
alone	○	○	○	○	○	○

Multicultural Personality Questionnaire

Extracted from the MPQ (Van Oudenhouen, Van der Zee, Ponterotto & Fietzer, 2012).

Here there are some statements regarding personality. Please choose the answer that is most applicable to you on a scale from 1 (totally not applicable) to 5 (completely applicable)

This test should not require a lot of thinking, please answer spontaneously to every statement. There are not right or wrong answers.

totally not applicable	hardly applicable	moderately applicable	largely applicable	completely applicable
○	○	○	○	○

Sympathizes with others

Tries out various approaches

Finds it difficult to make contacts

Is reserved

Likes routine

Sets others at ease

Takes the lead

Is often the driving force behind things

Is looking for new ways to attain his/her goal

Makes contacts easily

Keeps calm when things don't go well

Has a feeling for what is appropriate in a specific culture

Seeks contact with people from a different background

Has fixed habits

Likes to imagine solutions for problems

Is insecure

Wants to know exactly what will happen

Enjoys other people's stories

Starts a new life easily

Is under pressure

Gets upset easily

Leaves the initiative to others to make contacts

Pays attention to the emotions of others

Looks for regularity in life

Is nervous

Functions best in a familiar setting

Is a good listener

Works according to plan

Is inclined to speak out

Has a broad range of interests

Is apt to feel lonely

Enjoys getting to know others profoundly

Takes initiatives Is not easily hurt

Works mostly according to a strict scheme

Notices when someone is in trouble

Senses when others get irritated

Worries

Works according to strict rules

Is a trendsetter in societal developments

Acculturation Questionnaire

Vancouver Index of Acculturation

(Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000)

Here are some statements regarding your heritage culture and host culture.

Please consider the culture of the place in Italy where you were born or you grew up as your heritage culture and the culture of the country/city where you live as your host culture.

On a scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 9 (totally agree) please state your degree of agreement and disagreement.

This test should not require a lot of thinking, please answer spontaneously to every statement. There are not right or wrong answers.

I often participate in my heritage cultural traditions.

I often participate in my host cultural traditions.

I would be willing to marry a person from my heritage culture.

I would be willing to marry a person from my host culture.

I enjoy social activities with people from the same heritage culture as myself.

I enjoy social activities with people from my host culture.

I am comfortable interacting with people of the same heritage culture as myself.

I am comfortable interacting with people from my host culture.

I enjoy entertainment (e.g. movies, music) from my heritage culture.

I enjoy entertainment (e.g. movies, music) from my host culture.

I often behave in ways that are typical of my heritage culture.

I often behave in ways that are typical of my host culture.

It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my heritage culture.

It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my host culture.

I believe in the values of my heritage culture.

I believe in mainstream host culture values.

I enjoy the jokes and humour of my heritage culture.

I enjoy white jokes and humour of my host culture.

I am interested in having friends from my heritage culture.

I am interested in having friends from my host culture.

Conclusion

Thank you for taking part in this research!

Please indicate how you would prefer me to proceed with the information you supply

- Give you credit if I cite you in my work
- Use your responses but keep your name and other identifying information confidential
- Use your responses in my analysis but not to quote them in any work

Please state your preference regarding a follow-up section of interviews.

Comments and suggestions: (paragraph)

Feel free to contact me at a.panicacci@mail.bbk.ac.uk for further enquiries.

Abbreviations

- L1 – First Language (Italian)
- LX – Non-Native Language (here used to indicate the local language)
- L2 – Second Language
- L1 culture – Heritage Culture
- LX Culture – Host Culture
- BEQ – Bilingualism and Emotion Questionnaire
- MPQ – Multi-cultural Personality Questionnaire
- VIA – Vancouver Index of Acculturation
- EI – Emotional Intelligence
- TEIQue - Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire
- CE – Cultural Empathy
- F – Flexibility
- SI – Social Initiative
- O – Openmindedness
- ES – Emotion Stability
- ESC – English-speaking countries
- L1 E – Emotion expression in the L1
- LX E – Emotion expression in the LX
- L1 D – L1 Dominance
- LX D – LX Dominance
- FD I – Feeling different when using the LX with different interlocutors
- FD M – Feeling different when using the LX to discuss different matters
- L1 Ac – L1 Acculturation
- LX Ac – LX Acculturation
- AoA – Age of Acquisition
- FoU – Frequency of Use

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